

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR
FROM : D. M. LADD
SUBJECT: Henry A. Wallace

DATE: May 12, 1947

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. E. A. Tamm ✓
Mr. Clegg ✓
Mr. Coffey ✓
Mr. Glavin ✓
Mr. Ladd ✓
Mr. Nichols ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Tracy ✓
Mr. Carson ✓
Mr. Egan ✓
Mr. Gurnea ✓
Mr. Harbo ✓
Mr. Hendon ✓
Mr. Quinn Tamm ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Mr. Nease ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

7041800
JF

The following information was obtained from Mr. Elbridge Durbrow, Counselor, United States Embassy, Moscow, U.S.S.R. by Special Agent John M. Matter on February 28, 1947, while the latter was enroute to Moscow on a special assignment. Durbrow obtained the information from two State Department employees who were members of the group that accompanied Henry A. Wallace on his visit to Russia in 1945.

Wallace told these two men that when they went to Russia they would undoubtedly see conditions and phases of Russian life of which they did not approve. As a condition to taking them along as members of his party, Wallace made them take an oral pledge to the effect that they would not, on their return, mention or discuss those things of which they disapproved. These men have kept their pledge as far as any public utterances are concerned, but have discussed all of their experiences on their Russian trip with other State Department personnel.

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This is rank deception.

JMM:MCS

58 MAY 26 1947

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DATE 5/6/83 BY SP1GSE/TC
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F. B. I.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

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DATE 4/19/83 BY SP/ASB/br

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Henry A. Wallace

ARE WALLACE'S VIEWS FOOLING SOME

CONGRESSMEN?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

of

HON. HOWARD H. BUFFETT
of Nebraska

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 29, 1947

INFORMATION CONTAINED

THIS DOCUMENT IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1/16/83 BY SP18SKC

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G. I. R. - 5

Mr. BUFFETT. Mr. Speaker, are Henry Wallace's views fooling some Congressmen on the Greek-Turkey deal? Is his opposition to that scheme causing a number of Congressmen to favor it- afraid to vote against it, regardless of its booby-trap aspects.

Is the Wallace hallaballoo carefully staged to divert attention from the fact that the New Deal crowd is overwhelmingly backing the Truman scheme?

If conversation in the House and around the cloakrooms is an accurate criterion, the answer is "Yes!" That verdict is hard to swallow- that Members of Congress would let the position of Henry Wallace warp their vote on the most dangerous scheme ever considered by an American Congress.

For there is no surer way to destroy America than commit this country to underwriting the combined budget deficits of all non-Russian nations on earth.

That impossible task, Mr. Speaker, is what the so-called Truman doctrine proposes. Under this scheme every nation in the world- tyrannical, despotic, or what not- can be enabled to balance its finances by drafts on the United States Treasury.

If an easier or more certain method can be shown to destroy America by bankruptcy, I hope someone will explain it.

MOST NEW DEALERS ARE FOR TRUMAN SCHEME

If it were not tragic, the attention given the Wallace side-show would be an amazing demonstration of the use of counterirritant. The focus on Wallace has completely blacked out the factual truth that the New Deal radical crowd is overwhelmingly for the Truman scheme.

The propaganda drive has carefully directed the attention of Congressmen away from the New Deal gang licking their chops at the prospect of a world-wide WPA program all dressed up in the lily-white robes of anticommunism.

Let us call at least part of the roll on the New Deal crowd on the deal.

First is the ADA- Americans for Democratic Action. The ADA in its own words "committed itself to the broad objectives proposed for aiding Greece and Turkey."

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt was chairman of a committee which recently selected the executive board of the ADA officials.

RECORDED 14

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62-717

Only Radica Back Truman, Reece Charges

PROVIDENCE, May 12 (AP). Republican National Chairman Reece said tonight "the radicals will be in the saddle" if the Democrats win the 1948 presidential election.

"He declared President Truman 'personally may not like the radicals' but that 'he is a good enough politician to realize his only chance for election next year, even though a remote chance, rests upon a thorough-going mobilization of radical votes on his behalf.'"

Appraises Truman Policies

In a speech for a Republican rally, Reece said that "since the top ranking officials of the Democrat party have announced that Mr. Truman is their choice for the Democrat nomination next year, and since Mr. Truman has maintained a loud silence when afforded opportunities to deny such announcements, it is fair to devote some time to an appraisal of the President's personal record on this subject."

Reece went on to say that while the President "has made some commendable appointments to top level governmental positions," he has "refrained from disturbing the bureaucrats" who "support the left wing theories of government."

The G.O.P. chairman also said that "six weeks after the issuance" of the President's order for a purge of disloyal government employees "there has been no evidence of any action to carry it into effect."

U. S. Loyalty Check-up

Assailed by Wallace

MINNEAPOLIS, May 12 (UP). Henry A. Wallace said today the nation's anti-Communist talk is a "disgrace" and denounced President Truman's loyalty test for governmental employees as a \$25,000,000 witch hunt.

Addressing a luncheon sponsored by the Independent Voters of Minnesota, the former Vice President said he believed "Communists should be treated as human beings rather than people who should be put in jail."

Wallace said that in countries he visited on his recent European tour he found "they had a healthy political climate where everything was out in the open."

"I believe that is the way it should be in the United States," he said.

Wallace spoke after a news conference in which he said he would be willing to run for the presidency if it would help the liberal cause.

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Carson _____
Mr. Egan _____
Mr. Gurnea _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Jones _____
Mr. Leonard _____
Mr. Pennington _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Gandy _____

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MAY 13 1947

Times Herald

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MAY 19 1947

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. J. C. STRICKLAND

FROM : Mr. L. Whitson

SUBJECT: HENRY A. WALLACE

DATE: 5/22/47

Mr. Tolson _____

Mr. E. A. Tamm _____

Mr. Clegg _____

Mr. Coffey _____

Mr. Glavin _____

Mr. Ladd _____

Mr. Nichols _____

Mr. Rosen _____

Mr. Tracy _____

Mr. Mohr _____

Mr. Carson _____

Mr. Hendon _____

Mr. Mumford _____

Mr. Jones _____

Mr. Quinn Tamm _____

Tele. Room _____

Mr. Nease _____

Miss Beahn _____

Miss Gandy _____

Attached is a photostatic copy of pages 29 and 30 of "Newsweek" for May 12, 1947, containing the photograph of the subject and comments regarding favorable remarks made of him in "Pravda."

Attachment

LW:edm

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DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1G EX-74
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F B I

31 MAY 24 1947

EX-74

MAY 29 1947



Pravda is gratified: Russia has so many warm friends in the United States

most members regarded it as primarily a gesture reflecting the prevailing economic unhappiness of the Congress. They believe that if the Senate restores the status quo, the House probably will agree to a compromise—adding \$300,000,000.

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Henry Wallace announced last week that he was ready to make the supreme sacrifice. "I have no ambition for public office," he declared. However, he had a second thought on the matter: If the only way to advance the cause of world peace was for Henry Wallace to run for President in '48, "I would run as hard as I could."

Paeon From Pravda

Pravda last week counted Soviet Russia's many blessings one by one, and the results were gratifying. There was so much the Russians could be thankful for, the Moscow daily exulted, particularly their American friends. Pravda named them:

❑ Henry A. Wallace, Democratic Sen. Claude Pepper of Florida, and Elliott Roosevelt, whose pro-Soviet stand indicated "the mood of the broad masses of Americans."

❑ The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, "headed by the Protestant clergyman Melish."

❑ "Politicians like Melish [who] express the mood of many simple Americans."

❑ Johannes Steel, "the famous radio commentator."

❑ Prof. Ralph Barton Perry, Robert W. Kenny, Albert Einstein, former United States Ambassador to Moscow Joseph

E. Davies, Paul Robeson, "and many others," including Mollie Lieber.

Of all Russia's blessings, only Mollie Lieber had earned Pravda's accolade the hard way. Mrs. Lieber made no bones about it: She was an old-time Communist-party member and organizer. Born in Poland 30 years ago, she came to America when she was 12. "I was disillusioned shortly after arriving here," she declared last week. At 17, she was taking part in radical activities. She helped to organize the Young Communist League, in Illinois and nationally. She also helped to organize its successor, American Youth for Democracy, and is now co-chairman of the Illinois division.

Wallace, Pepper, and Elliott Roosevelt earned Pravda's accolade by their attacks on American foreign policy, and especially on the Truman Doctrine. The others earned it, however, primarily by lending their names to scores of Communist-front organizations, including the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, which was first organized in 1920 as the Friends of the Soviet Union. During the war, the organization temporarily achieved considerable esteem and succeeded in enticing many anti-Communists to join. Since then, its propaganda against United States foreign policy has driven most of them out.*

The record:

The Rev. William Howard Melish, associate rector of the Holy Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church in Brooklyn, is chairman of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. Has been affiliated with the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, the Citizens Com-

mittee for Harry Bridges, and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. Has written for Communist publications, including New Masses and Soviet Russia Today.

Johannes Steel: Dropped as radio commentator by station WHN, he now publishes the pro-Soviet newsletter, Johannes Steel Report on World Affairs, and is foreign editor of the sympathetic Reader's Scope. As candidate for Congress of Communist-dominated American Labor party, he was endorsed by The Daily Worker and supported by 1,000 Communist doorbell-pushers.

Prof. Ralph Barton Perry, a sponsor of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. Sponsored call to Congress of American-Soviet Friendship, dinner honoring Red Army, and Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Contributor to Soviet Russia Today. Worked closely with American Student Union and American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom.

Robert W. Kenny, former State Attorney General of California: Affiliated with Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo, American League for Peace and Democracy, Council for Pan American Democracy, Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, National Lawyers Guild, League of American Writers, and Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. Counsel for William Schneiderman, California state secretary of the Communist party.

Albert Einstein: Affiliated with American Friends of the Chinese People, Committee for Peace Through World Cooperation, Congress of American-Soviet Friendship, Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, International Labor Defense, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, League of American Writers, Medical Bureau and North American

* Among those who quit: Sens. Leverett Saltonstall and Arthur Capper, President Karl T. Compton of M. I. T., Judge Learned Hand, and Harold L. Ickes.

Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, Soviet Russia Today, the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign, and the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born.

Joseph E. Davies: Affiliated with National Council of American-Soviet Friendship and Congress of American-Soviet Friendship. Sent greetings to New Masses. Signed statement of National Federation for Constitutional Liberties hailing War Department order permitting Communists to become Army officers. Author of "Mission to Moscow," which glorified Soviet regime and justified totalitarianism.

Paul Robeson: Affiliated with American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, China Aid Council, American League for Peace and Democracy, American Peace Mobilization, Artists' Front to Win the War, Citizens' Committee for Harry Bridges, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, National Negro Congress, New Masses, New Theatre League, New Dance League, New Theatre, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Soviet Russia Today, Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, American Youth for Democracy, International Labor Defense, the Abraham Lincoln School, and the Washington Committee for Aid to China.

To Pravda, the activities of Russia's friends proved that "foreign democratic intellectuals have become more and more convinced that only by following the principles which the USSR is defending in the field of international relations can the leaders of science and culture be set free from the fate of the servants of imperialism."

Unfortunately, Pravda added, the "friends of the USSR do not have freedom of speech on the pages of newspapers, magazines, and books with great circulations, and sometimes these persons are even persecuted."

May Party Line

The party line stretched long and thin down Eighth Avenue in New York's swarming garment district. Sometimes there were embarrassing gaps in it. Sometimes there seemed to be fewer paraders than police—2,800 uniformed cops and a small army of detectives had been assigned to the route. At Union Square, the reviewing stand looked like a Sunday picnic. A mother rocked her baby carriage in the spring sunshine. Two small boys scrambled over the bleachers, whacking at each other with rolled-up banners. Girls posed for snapshots. It was May Day, 1947.

Thus last Thursday, before police, newsmen, including two correspondents

from Tass, the official Soviet news agency, and thousands of office and factory workers en route to the 5 p.m. homeward subway crush, New York Communists and pro-Communist organizations marched in their annual show of strength. What The Daily Worker heralded as "united labor" turned out to be the old standbys—the National Maritime Union, the United Electrical Workers, and the International Fur and Leather Workers Union—all CIO and Communist-infiltrated. Only a few left-wing AFL contingents marched and they paid the price—by nightfall, the AFL ordered the three leaders who had sponsored participation in the parade suspended.

By far the greatest triumph of the day belonged to the Communist party itself. It ordered into the parade about 700 veterans, in uniform and wearing military decorations. They marched in perfect ranks chanting: "One-two-three-four. We don't want another war."

On placards, banners, and floats, the marchers announced where they stood:

¶ They were against military use of the atomic bomb, imperialism, the Taft-Hartley "slave" labor bill, Representatives Rankin and J. Parnell Thomas, Senators Taft and Bilbo, war talk, Red baiting, J. Edgar Hoover, President Truman's foreign policy, loans to Greece and

Turkey, Wall Street, and the House Un-American Activities Committee.

¶ They were for peace, independence of Puerto Rico, a Federal theater, the 35-hour week, housing, Soviet-American friendship, Gerhard Eisler, Henry A. Wallace, the Negro ballplayer Jackie Robinson, and the return of "one-cent bubble gum."

Communist spokesmen vied with each other in trying to cover up an all too apparent fact—May Day, 1947, was a flop compared with other years. Blatantly, Ben Gold, Communist president of the Fur and Leather Workers Union, pronounced the parade the "best ever." William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Communist party, added: "This great demonstration is but a foretaste of the great demonstrations to come." The Daily Worker announced that 80,000 had marched. The police count: 27,500.

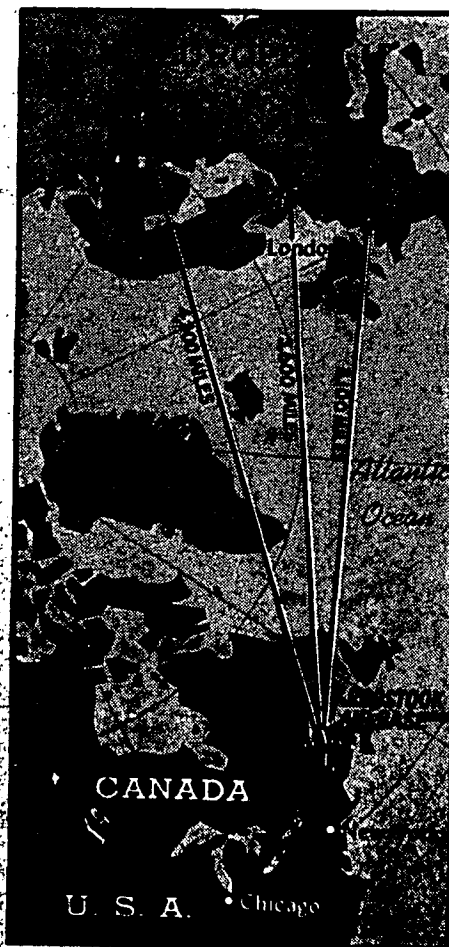
ARMY: Potato Air Base

Agriculturally, Aroostook County in Northern Maine could brag about its smooth-skinned potatoes that make it the nation's No. 1 spud producer. Commercially, it could boast of the astounding 355 bushels per acre which it converts into starch, alcohol, dehydrated potatoes, seed potatoes or fertilizer, or just lets rot under the government's price-support program. Botanically, the county—bigger than Connecticut and Rhode Island combined—had also been famous for its forests of magnificent white pines.

Militarily, it was another matter. Because Aroostook County is the closest spot in the United States to Europe, the Army Air Forces last week revealed it would build a \$14,000,000 base there for its longest-range bombers—the six-engined Consolidated B-36, the Boeing B-50, the Northrop B-35 Flying Wing, and its jet-powered version, the B-49. Their 5,000-mile radius would put Europe within six- to seven-hour range of the new Aroostook base.

The chosen site on Aroostook's fog-free plateau was 7,200 rolling acres of potato and pine lands outside Limestone Village, only 4 miles from the Canadian border and 30 from the wartime air-ferry hub at Presque Isle. Because of the immense weight of the new super-bombers, the AAF figured it was easier to build the mammoth new 10,000-foot runway from scratch than to convert Presque Isle or any other field.

The AAF planned to break ground June 15, as soon as the spring thaws are over. Since Aroostook has a virtually sub-arctic climate, it would take two summers, perhaps three, to complete work. Only then would the field be ready to base two air groups of perhaps 30 bombers each. Presumably, a twin base for the AAF's over-the-Arctic air strategy would be built in the northwestern part of the country to match Aroostook's hot-test potato.



Newsweek Map by James Gutter
Aroostook: Six bomber hours to Europe

SAC, St. Paul

July 9, 1947

Director, FBI

F. W. GSCHLECHT
SECURITY MATTER - C

For your information only, there are forwarded copies of a letter from the subject to an unidentified newspaper. This correspondence was received anonymously in an envelope postmarked Minneapolis, Minnesota, 6 p.m., June 5, 1947.

Enclosure

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HR:FM

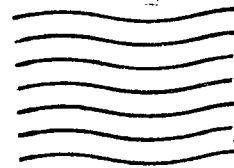
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Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Carson _____
Mr. Egan _____
Mr. Gurnea _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Pennington _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Gandy _____

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 4
JUL 9 - 1947 P.M.
INVESTIGATION

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DATE 5/16/93 BY SP10SKJC
228303

Calder
[Signature]
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Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington D.C.

ANONYMOUS COMMUNICATION
BEEP ENVELOPE ATTACHED

...statements, contain malicious remarks, defame any
or if they are not signed by the writer.

m For Readers

Doesn't Like Republicans

Sir:—All this peace drive of Harold E. Stassen, and his so-called love for labor is one the workers should watch out for. Now we have two men back from Europe. To make long story real short, one stands for the common man. His name is Henry Wallace, and the other is Harold E. Stassen, who stands for the bankers.

Stassen, and the rest of the Republicans know for one thing that '48 is the year when the fight is on between the bankers and the workers. What do they do to try to fool the workers to run Stassen to try to save the bankers so-called democracy. What they mean by democracy, they mean democracy for themselves.

Yes, Communism is misery to the bankers. What to ask who are the people? Who is enjoying democracy? It is not the workers for sure. It is about time the people are coming to. With all the Stassen, they won't get any place. What have the Republicans done for the workers? Not one thing. All over the land people are going Wallace ways. Election in California, Washington, and down East, they want Wallace. Vital problems are facing the people.

F. W. GSCHLECHT.
175 1/2 E. Congress.

St. Paul Minn

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DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1 RSB/TC
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34 JUN 7 1947

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Paul
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Ranstad

Anonymous - no ack. by

Officers: Wilson W. Wyatt, national chairman; Leon Henderson, chairman of the executive committee; Louis Harris, national treasurer; Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., national vice-chairman; Mator Hubert Humphrey, of Minneapolis, national vice chairman; Joseph Loeb, Jr., executive secretary.

Board members: Harvey Brown, Melvyn Douglas, David Dubinsky, George Edwards, Ethel S. Epstein, Hugo Ernst, William Evjue, David Ginsburg, Lester G. Ganger, Sal B. Hoffman, James Killen, Frank McCullough, B.F. McLaurin, Othoer J. Mischo, Reinhold Neibuhr, Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, Edward P. Pritchard, Right Rev. William Scarlett, Arthur M. Schelsinger, Jr., Monroe Sweetland, Barney Taylor, Mrs. M.E. Tilly.

Other prominent new dealers include Chas. Bolte, chairman of the AVC; Andrew Bie Miller, former Milwaukee Congressman; and Herbert Lehman, former UNRRA head.

NEW YORK LIBERAL PARTY

The Liberal Party of New York State has gone on record in favor of the Truman intervention scheme. A recent official party statement declared:

The Liberal Party greet's President Truman's message to Congress proposing immediate and adequate aid to Greece and Turkey.

Vice chairmen of the New York Liberal Party include George S. Counts, Alex Rose, and Reinhold Neibuhr. The executive director is Ben Davidson.

ANOTHER NEW DEAL CROWD ON THE BANDWAGON

Another New Deal crowd that is quietly promoting the Truman scheme is Freedom House, Inc.

The board of directors of Freedom House have voted overwhelmingly to support the President's program. This fact is announced in the April issue of Freedom House News Letter, and it is based on a poll of their board of directors.

The following directors of Freedom House are specifically in favor of the Truman intervention program:

Dr. Harry D. Gideonse, Thomas K. Finletter, Leo Cherne, "ev. Geo. B. Ford, Elmo Roper, Herbert Bayard Swope, Bishop Henry W. Hobson, Newbold Morris, Spyros P. Skouras, Rex Stout, George Field, Herbert Agar, Cass Canfield, Norman Cousins, George Fielding Elliot, Christopher T. Emmet, Jr., Mrs. Henry Gale, Arthur J. Goldsmith, Harold K. Ginzburg, Mrs. Andrew Jackson, Rev. William C. Kiernan, Edgar Ansel Mowrer, Eliz. M. Riley, Nathaniel Singer, Frederick F. Umhey.

This new letter did not report the views of Freedom House Director Chester Bowles, although his OPA associate, Paul Porter, is a leading ball carrier on the Greek deal.

NEW DEALERS 95 PER CENT FOR TRUMAN DOCTRINE

Mr. Speaker, the foregoing evidence seems to indicate that 95 percent of the leaders of the New Deal socialistic crowd in America are for the new handout venture.

The fact that administration propaganda seems to have been able to magnify Henry Wallace's opposition into confusing the thinking of some Congressmen bespeaks the power of modern political hypnosis.

"I do not want to be on the same side as Henry Wallace is the wall that goes up among conservative Democrats and Republicans. And so they may play right into the hands of the New Deal by voting for the Turko-Greek scheme.

by setting that scheme into motion they may enable Stalin to sit on his front porch and watch America bleed to death.

Mr. Speaker, I pointed out the foregoing danger to an able member of Congress recently. His answer was, "Howard, I think you are giving Stalin credit for being smarter than he really is." Now the question I want to ask is, "Will Stalin have to take every trick from America for 14 more years before Congress will concede the cleverness of his strategy?"

How long must we be fooled?

SAC, Washington Field

June 3, 1947

Director, FBI

YOUNG PROGRESSIVE CITIZENS OF AMERICA
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

A review of the Daily Worker at the Seat of Government for May 27, 1947, reflects that the Young Progressive Citizens of America are to hold in Washington, D. C. on June 16 a National Youth lobby for two days. Some 500 young leaders are, according to the Daily Worker, expected to take part in this lobby and will speak to Senators and Representatives on behalf of Federal aid to education, increased veterans' subsistence, the FEPC, the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Housing program, and on-the-job training. These young lobbyists were also reported to be in opposition to peacetime conscriptions.

Henry A. Wallace is to give an address which will climax this two-day lobby in which he will outline a program for youth. Headquarters of the lobby in Washington, D. C. will be the Washington Office of the Young Progressive Citizens of America at 1916 Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

The Bureau desires that your office arrange for informant coverage of the activities of this group while in Washington, D. C. Other offices receiving a copy of this letter are to report the activities of the Young Progressive Citizens of America within their Field Divisions in preparation for this meeting by letter to the Bureau promptly.

G. I. R. -5

As you are undoubtedly aware, the Progressive Citizens of America is a new front organization which is propagating the Communists' political aims for 1948. According to reports received to date, the Communists were active in the formation of this organization, and its program and activities not only have been supported and propagated by the Communist press, but have also closely paralleled that of the Communist Party. The Young Progressive Citizens of America is the youth group attached to the Progressive Citizens of America. An unconfirmed report has been received indicating that possibly the American Youth for Democracy will go out of existence and this Young Progressive Citizens of America organization will take its place. Consequently, all offices receiving a copy of this communication should be on the alert to report on the activities of this group while it is still in the embryonic stage.

cc New York

Baltimore

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

Newark
Boston

MAILED 10
JUN 4 1947 P.M.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease

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EX-43

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DATE 4-29-80 BY SP2 TAP/IRM/RWS
#84,351

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Wallace to Talk At Youth Lobby

file

Henry A. Wallace will outline a program for youth in an address to a National Youth lobby in Washington June 16, the Young Progressive Citizens of America initiators of the event, announced yesterday.

Wallace's address will climax a two-day lobby by some 500 youth leaders, who will speak to Senators and representatives on behalf of federal aid to education, the 18-year-old vote, increased veterans' subsistence, the FEPC, the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Housing program and on-the-job training.

The young lobbyists will oppose peacetime conscriptions.

Headquarters of the lobby will be the Washington office of YPCA, 1916 St., N. W., Washington.

[Handwritten signature]

This is a clipping from
Page 4 of the
DAILY WORKER

Date 5-27-47
Clipped at the Seat of
Government.

[Handwritten signature]

ENCLOSURE

62-71788-56

73A-5 - distributed at P.H.C. Conference - Darter 12/25/45

THE NEW REPUBLIC
40 East 49th Street
New York, 17, N. Y.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1GSK JC

file
Text of address on
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY
by Henry A. Wallace, Editor of the New Republic
over the coast to coast network of the National Broadcasting Co.
6:15 to 6:30 P.M., Thursday evening, March 13, 1947

Yesterday March 12, 1947, marked a turning point in American history. Fellow Americans, it is not a Greek crisis that we face, it is an American crisis. It is a crisis in the American spirit. That which I feared when I wrote President Truman last July has come upon us. Only the American people fully aroused and promptly acting can prevent disaster.

Yesterday President Truman, in the name of democracy and humanitarianism, proposed a military lend-lease program. He proposed a loan of \$400 million to Greece and Turkey as a down payment on an unlimited expenditure aimed at opposing communist expansion. He proposed, in effect, that America police Russia's every border. There is no regime too reactionary for us provided it stands in Russia's expansionist path. There is no country too remote to serve as the scene of a contest which may widen until it becomes a world war.

President Truman calls for action to combat a crisis. What is this crisis that necessitates Truman going to Capitol Hill as though a Pearl Harbor had suddenly hit us? How many more of these Pearl Harbors will there be? How can they be foreseen? What will they cost?

President Truman says that the people of Greece are homeless, hungry and ravaged by the losses of war. We all know this. It is not only the Greek people who are suffering from the war. It is the peoples of all Europe, of Russia, of China and of many lands.

Americans agree with President Truman that we must aid the people beside whom we fought. Americans ask: If aid to the people of the world is our objective, why did the President and the Congress allow the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration to die? Why are we doing nothing to help the million displaced persons without homes in Europe? Why are we speaking of only \$400 million when the need is far greater? Why is \$150 million of those \$400 million to

- more -

be given to Turkey which was no ally of ours and which is in no urgent need of food and supplies?

All Americans agree with President Truman that freedom is the most cherished of human goals, and should be helped to grow in all countries. These same Americans ask: How does support given to the undemocratic governments of Greece and Turkey aid the cause of freedom?

Turkey is a nation which fought against us in the first World War and which in this war refused to help the United Nations. Turkey fattened herself off the Germans and the Allies by offering her vital supplies of chrome to the highest bidder. Out of these sales she built up a gold reserve of a quarter of a billion dollars. Turkish neutrality lengthened the war by months. Turkey was a haven for Nazi leaders at the war's end. It is utter nonsense to assert today that the Turkish government is representative or democratic. Turkish sources state that the \$150 million that President Truman proposes to give Turkey is to be used to maintain her army of a million men, -- equivalent to 7 million men in terms of the United States. In what sense is this an army of freedom? Many allied divisions were immobilized throughout the war because we never knew on whose side this same Turkish army was preparing to fight.

Everyone admires the Greek people who fought on our side. They urgently need economic aid. I would be strongly for economic aid to Greece. As Secretary of Commerce I was for a Greek loan for such purposes when most of the administration was against it. But President Truman has made it clear that very little of the \$250 million loan to Greece is for economic reconstruction. It is a military subsidy to the Greek government to continue its efforts to stamp out all opposition. It is utter nonsense to suggest that the present Greek government is a democratic one. Three weeks ago our Secretary of State General Marshall condemned many aspects of that government. He called for a political amnesty, substantial unity and many reforms in the government as the conditions of American aid to Greece. Why did President Truman abandon the conditions set by his own Secretary of State? The President asks only that American civilian and military personnel supervise the use made of American supplies. What do the activities of American Army officers in Greece have to do with peaceful reconstruction?

One year ago at Fulton, Missouri, Winston Churchill called for a diplomatic offensive

against Soviet Russia. By sanctioning that speech Truman committed us to a policy of combating Russia with British resources. That policy proved to be so bankrupt that Britain can no longer maintain it. Now President Truman proposes we take over Britain's hopeless task. Today Americans are asked to support the governments of Greece and Turkey. Tomorrow we shall be asked to support the governments of China and Argentina.

I say that this policy is utterly futile. No people can be bought. America cannot afford to spend billions and billions of dollars for unproductive purposes. The world is hungry and insecure, and the peoples of all lands demand change. American loans for military purposes won't stop them. President Truman cannot prevent change in the world any more than he can prevent the tide from coming in or the sun from setting. But once America stands for opposition to change we are lost. America will become the most hated nation in the world.

Russia may be poor and unprepared for war but she knows very well how to reply to Truman's declaration of economic and financial pressure. All over the world Russia and her ally poverty will increase the pressure against us. Who among us is ready to predict that in this struggle American dollars will outlast the grievances that lead to communism? I certainly don't want to see communism spread. I predict that Truman's policy will spread communism in Europe and Asia. You can't fight something with nothing. When Truman offers unconditional aid to King George of Greece, he is acting as the best salesman communism ever had. In proposing this reckless adventure Truman is betraying the great tradition of America and the leadership of the great American who preceded him.

Coming two days after the opening of the Moscow Conference, President Truman's speech has undermined General Marshall's assignment of cooperating with Great Britain, France and Russia in writing the peace. The United Nations, our great hope for peace, rests on the continued cooperation of these nations and will be gravely weakened if America follows the course that Truman recommends. The United Nations Commission is now in Greece investigating the threat to Greek security. If Greece is in danger let the United Nations tell us the facts and recommend action. America will do what the United Nations recommends. Why should President Truman undercut its action? How can

we wage a war of nerves against Russia and expect her to take in good faith our proposals to the United Nations on atomic energy? When President Truman proclaims the world-wide conflict between East and West, he is telling the Soviet leaders that we are preparing for eventual war. They will reply by measures to strengthen their position in the event of war. Then the task of keeping the world at peace will pass beyond the power of the common people everywhere who want peace. Certainly it will not be freedom that will be victorious in this struggle. Psychological and spiritual preparation for war will follow financial preparation; civil liberties will be restricted; standards of living will be forced downward; families will be divided against each other; none of the values that we hold worth fighting for will be secure.

Most Americans fear that the actions proposed by President Truman will lead to disaster. That is why congressional leaders were prepared in advance for the President's message. That is why the program was presented piece by piece, and not as an overall program that Americans could look at and judge as a whole. No hypocritical appeal to the generosity and decency of the American people should be permitted to draw us into a commitment for which there is no end in sight. Americans are for democracy and for economic reconstruction. As one American citizen I say: No loan to undemocratic and well-fed Turkey: No loan to Greece until a representative Greek government is formed and can assure America that our funds will be used for the welfare of the Greek people.

To authorize the loans proposed by President Truman will bring the world nearer to war. To defeat these loans will not bring peace. I recognize that there is grave danger of eventual war in our present policy of drift. All nations are responsible for this drift to war; all nations must work together for peace.

No one wants war. If war comes one day, it will be because we have failed to think on the scale required for peace. Roosevelt thought on that scale. He foresaw generations of peace and plenty. Two years later President Truman asks us to look forward to generations of want and war. President Truman has summoned in a Century of Fear. I say this can be the century of the fulfillment of the American dream.

This is the time for an all-out world-wide reconstruction program for peace. This is

America's opportunity. The peoples of all lands say to America: Send us plows for our fields instead of tanks and guns to be used against us. The United Nations is waiting, ready to do the job. We should start with an economic plan for the Near East financed by the International Bank and backed by the United Nations. The dollars that are spent will be spent for the production of goods and will come back to us in a thousand different ways. Our program will be based on service instead of the outworn ideas of imperialism and power politics. It is a fundamental law of life that a strong idea is merely strengthened by persecution. The way to handle communism is by what William James called "the replacing power of the higher affection." In other words, we must give the common man all over the world something better than communism. I believe we have something better than communism here in America. But President Truman has not spoken for the American ideal. It is now the turn of the American people to speak.

Common sense is required of all of us in realizing that helping militarism never brings peace. Courage is required of all of us in carrying out a program that can bring peace. Courage and common sense are the qualities that made America great. Let's keep those qualities now.

####

THE NEW REPUBLIC
40 East 49th Street
New York, 17, N. Y.

SAC, New York

June 19, 1947

Director, FBI

HENRY AGARD WALLACE
INFORMATION CONCERNING

RECORDED

62-71788-58

EX-65

RECORDED There is being submitted herewith a photostatic copy of a memorandum dated May 22, 1947, setting forth information concerning the wide speaking tour of the captioned individual. This memorandum was furnished to the Bureau by an unknown outside source and it is being furnished to the New York Office for its information.

Attachment

HOB:mjp

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DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1GSKJC

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G. I. R. -5

JUN 19 11 48 AM '47
RECEIVED MAILING 6-17

Mr. Tolson	COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	MAILED 6
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	★ JUN 19 1947 P.M.
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Pennington	FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Mr. Quinn Tamm	U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

31 JUN 21 1947 49

[Handwritten signature]

[Handwritten initials]

New York City
May 22, 1947.

REPORT ON HENRY WALLACE'S

TOUR.

Henry Wallace, making a coast-to-coast speaking tour, has been greeted by "standing room only" audiences, The New Republic, of which Wallace is titular editor, reported May 21.

"It is interesting to note that Wallace, in previous speaking tours as Vice President and Cabinet member, appeared in all of these cities, but was never previously received with as great interest and enthusiasm," the magazine says in a statement.

The magazine summarizes speaking dates and attendances;

Cleveland, O., May 2: Capacity audience of 4,000. Unable to obtain tickets, were another 1,500, according to local newspapers.

Minneapolis, May 12: Six thousand paid admittance fees, to fill hall to capacity. "This was the first time the hall had been filled for a political rally since the days of Floyd Olsen, at which time there was no admission charge."

U. of Minnesota, May 13: One thousand students turned away after 2,500 had crowded Campus Hall.

Chicago, May 14: Twenty thousand paid from \$.60 to \$2.40, filling Chicago Stadium for the first time in political history. Overflow, 2,000.

U. of Chicago, May 14: Two thousand students bought \$.30 tickets within four hours of announcement of sale; 1,000 turned away.

U. of Michigan, May 15: Five thousand crowded Masonic Auditorium, 1,000 more heard Wallace over basement loudspeakers, and 2,000 to 3,000 listened to public address system in Cadillac Sq.

U. of Michigan, May 15: Five thousand, third of student body, went without lunch to jam Hill Auditorium.

Los Angeles, May 19: Gilmore Stadium's 27,000 seats sold out.

* * *

Speaking in San Francisco at the Opera House on May 21, Wallace drew a crowd of 3,250, at capacity, with 2,500 on the outside listening thru a loud speaker.

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DATE 5/16/83 BY SP-8/SCC
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See New York
6/19/47

ANONYMOUS COMMUNICATION
KEEP ENVELOPE ATTACHED

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THIS IS A SAMPLE OF COMMIE
CARLTON

PROPAGANDA. THEY WERE SURE OF
A SAVAGE VICTORY, CONSEQUENTLY
WANTED CREDIT FOR THIS VICTORY OWING
TO THE FACT THAT HE ENDORSED
WALLACE. I DON'T MEAN TO IMPLY THAT SAVAGE
ENDORSED AND WANTED THE BACKING OF THE
COMMITTEES, ON THE CONTRARY HE DID NOT WANT
THEM TO BE SO OBVIOUS.

HENRY A.

57 JUN 26 1947

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JUN 19 1947

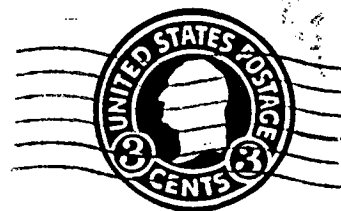
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PROGRESSIVE COMMUNIST OF AMERICA
228303



Mr. HOOVER

CHIEF OF F.B.I.

WASHINGTON

D. C.

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DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1A SK JC

ENCLOSURE



62-71788-59

ENCLOSURE

62-71788-59
CALLING ALL DEMOCRATS

WALLACE IS WARNING YOU

"A Vote For MACK is a Vote for War"

Forget Smith Troy

Stick To The Party "LINE"

WIN WITH THE COMMUNISTS

ELECT **SAVAGE** ELECT

ON THE DEMOCRATIC TICKET

UNITED WE STAND

ACCELERATE THE REVOLUTION

SAFE WITH SAVAGE

READ

"TOWARDS A SOVIET AMERICA"

W. Z. FOSTER, CHAIRMAN OF THE C. P. A. COMMUNIST PARTY U.S.A.

- REPUDIATE THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE -

Stop All Aid to Greece Outlaw the Atom Bomb

VOTE WITH THE COMMUNISTS

SAVAGE

YOUR NEXT CONGRESSMAN and OURS

FINAL ELECTION

JUNE 7th 1947

a vote for Mack is a vote for Truman

SUPPORT THE P.C.A.

DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION

Published by the Progressive Communists of America (P.C.A.)

MACK IS NOT THE MAN

WE WANT WALLACE

DATE 05-14-2019

BY:

JUL 24, 1947.

NO: 449

RECEIVED FROM THE STATE DEPARTMENT
THROUGH ON CHANNELS~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DATE 6-27-47

RRR

Subject: Visit of Mr. Henry A. Wallace to Stockholm.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington.*Sweden - Col.*

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May 27, 1947 air:

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With reference to the Legation's confidential telegram No. 343 of April 19, 1947, I have the honor to submit herewith a summary account of the speech made by Mr. Henry A. Wallace before a gathering of some 1,000 people at the Stockholm University on April 18, 1947. This summary is based on notes taken by members of the Legation who attended the meeting, as well as on the relatively brief accounts of the speech published in the Stockholm press on April 19.

Mr. Wallace's arrival in Sweden had been preceded by considerable advance publicity featuring his personal idealism and political career, with special stress laid on his time as Vice President and his close teamwork with President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Simultaneously, the Swedish press had devoted much editorial space to Mr. Wallace's recent speeches in England and his campaign against current American foreign policy. On the whole, these press comments expressed much sympathy with his idealistic motives as such, but most commentators were strongly skeptical as to the wisdom of his campaign and doubted that his theories could ever be carried out in practice. It was thus felt that he was making himself the victim of wishful thinking. Swedish observers found it difficult to understand just what he wanted for achieving greater international understanding, but the gist of his speeches was felt to be a recommendation for a conciliatory attitude toward the Soviet Union and a strong limitation in America's foreign undertakings and commitments.

Apart from the Communist press and a few Social Democratic papers which seemed to subscribe to Mr. Wallace's policy of "engagement" toward Russia, Swedish observers in general felt that he was in effect counteracting his own purposes by picturing American foreign policy as being "aggressive", "imperialistic" and "hostile to the Soviet Union". While paying due tribute to his personal integrity, righteousness and idealism, Swedish commentators maintained that he was blind to the chief cause of the present international tension, namely Russia's own intractableness, and it was felt that he could not convince realistic people that one-sided concessions, tolerance and "ostrich tactics" were the right means for preserving peace.

On the other hand, even these Swedish observers who thus expressed most strident criticism about the result of Mr. Wallace's

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Stockholm, Sweden
April 24, 1947.
Despatch NO. 449

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"mission" failed to understand how his present campaign could cause any real difficulties to Washington's official foreign policy, and they reacted against the suggestions that he be muzzleed through having his passport withdrawn.

The Swedish Democratic press mainly confined itself to publishing articles featuring Mr. Wallace's achievements in American domestic politics, while it preferred to take a non-committal stand to his theses on international policy.

Mr. Wallace arrived in Stockholm in the evening of April 17 as the guest of an idealist-pacifist organization called the Society for International Cooperation for Peace ("Föreningen Mellanfolkligt Samarbete för Fred"). Co-sponsors of his lecture in Stockholm were the Swedish Cooperative Union, the Federation of Labor, the Swedish Committee of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, various women's organizations, and a newly established pacifist organ called *Världshorisont* ("World Horizon"). Aside from the Federation of Labor and the Cooperative Union, the sponsors of Mr. Wallace's visit were thus politically insignificant societies embracing mainly radicals and idealists.

Mr. Wallace was met at the Stockholm airport by, among others, Mr. Olof Aschberg, an old Swedish banker known to have helped finance the Swedish labor movement in the days when it lacked funds and who is also understood to have been one of the financiers of the Bolsheviks at the time of the Russian revolution. Mr. Aschberg, who is now the owner of *Finlandstidningen*, made Mr. Wallace welcome in a short speech, whereupon the Stockholm Workers' Men's Choir sang the American national anthem. At a press conference following these ceremonies, Mr. Wallace said, in part, that he had extended his tour to include the Scandinavian countries partly because he believed that there was a real public lat rest in the United Nations here, partly because he had relatives in Sweden, and partly because he was interested in the economic situation here. He declined to discuss American foreign policy but disclosed that he was opposed to the aid to Greece and Turkey in the form proposed. During his visit to England he had gained the impression that 99 per cent of the British people desired understanding with Russia, while the percentage for the United States was "substantially less". A friendly Russian posture, for example if the score of Russian women married to British subjects were granted exit permits from the Soviet Union, would probably improve Anglo-Russian relations. Mr. Wallace said in reply to special questions that he had no intention to form any political party of his own for the 1948 elections; a third party would be necessary only, if it proved that the Democratic Party was developing in an ultra-conservative direction. He believed that Sweden would probably in the future be facing very difficulties in the economic field.

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similar to those in the United States since both countries had had their productive capacity increased during the war and were therefore confronted with difficulties in the world markets. He expressed the hope for universal disarmaments, saying that all countries were in need of reduced armaments to speed up their recovery after the war; the Soviet Union needed this more than perhaps any other country. He hoped for more intimate relations between the Soviet Union and the Anglo-Saxon Powers and declared that the Scandinavian countries, holding a key position in this respect, would be able to make a great contribution as intermediaries. He concluded with the statement that if he were to receive an invitation to visit the Soviet Union and if he were convinced that a visit there would serve the cause of peace, he could gladly make the journey.

The arrival of Mr. Wallace and his press interview were prominently featured by the Stockholm morning papers on April 13, and the sponsors of his visit added to the publicity by inserting advertisements announcing free admission to the meeting at the Stockholm University where he was to make his only public appearance during his brief visit.

Mr. Wallace was the guest of honor at a luncheon given at the Grand Hotel in Stockholm on April 13 by Mr. Olof Aschberg in his capacity as the proprietor of the United Nations magazine. Some 250 guests were present, all of whom had apparently been invited at Mr. Aschberg's expense. The latter presided; at his right sat Mr. Wallace and at his left Social Minister Gustav Miller. Next to them were seated the Soviet Minister Mr. G. M. Malenkov, Mrs. Miller, and two of Sweden's leading champions of women's rights, novelist Gertrud Sjöström and Dr. Hanne Ribb. Among the guests were representatives of all prominent sectors of Swedish life, right wing as well as left wing journalists, leaders of various political parties, heads of leading associations, artists, musicians, scientists, public officials, and others.

Mr. Aschberg introduced Mr. Wallace in a short speech; Mr. Wallace then spoke for about forty minutes, after first having told the luncheon guests that he had not intended to make a speech. The major themes of his remarks were: (1) the need for a "fitting United Nations"; (2) the need for understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union; and (3) "a new deal for a new world". He spoke of the extreme danger of war and reiterated that he had said in his earlier interview that whereas in Great Britain he was assured that 22 per cent of the population was opposed to war with Russia, he thought the percentage was by no means so high in the United States. He was certain that there was no one in Sweden who believed that Russia was a very dangerous

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April 24, 1947.
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Scandinavian territory. In order to avoid any misunderstanding, he made it clear that he was a "capitalist" and that he was neither a Socialist nor a Communist. On the other hand, he sincerely hoped that Communism would be successful in the Soviet Union, just as he hoped that "capitalist democracy" would be successful in the United States. By "successful" he meant the achievement of maximal production. Referring to the press criticism in the United States of his speeches abroad on American foreign policy, he stoutly defended his right "as a citizen of the world" to speak in favor of peace wherever he chose to do so. He emphatically denounced the "mentality" which advocated the lifting of his passport on account of his speeches abroad, and he declared that he would have something to say about this publicly when he returned to the United States.

On the whole, Mr. Wallace's speech was a fervent plea for the United Nations and for peace, and while it was at times critical of opinions in the United States and elsewhere--which he interpreted as hostile to his ideals--he made no direct attack on American foreign policy and was thus much more moderate in his expressions than he appears to have been in England. The applause was not overly enthusiastic and seemed to come from certain sections of the audience only. His talk seemed too long for a luncheon speech and became obviously boring at the end for many listeners. On the other hand, he impressed a great many of them by his zeal for his fitting liberalism.

Mr. Wallace was the guest of Social Minister and Mrs. Gustav Uller at a small informal dinner on April 16 in a private dining room at a Stockholm restaurant. There were only twelve persons at the table, including Mrs. Karin KOCH-LI BOM (the newly appointed Minister without Portfolio and Sweden's first woman Cabinet Minister), Mr. Sven LINDBLAD (the Chief of the Press Division of the Foreign Office) and several undersecretaries of various Ministries. Mr. Uller welcomed Mr. Wallace with a prepared speech in which he paid his respects to an ex-Vice-President of the United States, a former holder of an important Cabinet post, and a great American, and he stressed the strong ties linking Sweden and the United States. He praised Mr. Wallace's humanitarian idealism and his work for peace through the United Nations, and Mr. Wallace responded with thanks for the warm reception given him in Sweden and with complimentary remarks about the high level of civilization in this country. In the course of the dinner, Mr. Wallace made inquiries about the political party set-up in Sweden and was particularly interested in the Liberal Party, whose leader is Professor Bertil OHLIN. Although most of the guests present were Social Democrats and thus opposed to Professor Ohlin's party, Mr. Wallace observed that if Professor Ohlin were the kind of Liberal they described, "he

could

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could hardly be a very dangerous man--i.e., hardly dangerous to progressive movements generally or "to the world". Mr. Wallace then inquired about the possibility of a strong peace movement in Sweden and at one point asked Social Minister Miller whether he agreed with his (Wallace's) general plan for preserving peace. Mr. Miller replied that he thought the general idea was good but that he did not know for certain whether war could be avoided. Mr. Wallace said: "Well, if you are not willing to be a prophet, are you willing to be an evangelist, to fight for peace?" to which Mr. Miller replied that he naturally could. Mr. Wallace said that he was impressed with the fact that the Scandinavians, although they had once been a most warlike race, had finally settled down to establish an admirable and peaceable way of life. "If the Scandinavians with their background can do that, I guess there's some hope for the rest of us", he concluded.

As far as the Legation has been able to find out, Mr. Wallace did not discuss during the dinner party the foreign policy of the United States with Swedish officials, nor did the Russian problem arise except at one point. Mr. Miller said that he thought the traditional anti-Russian sentiment in Sweden was not nearly so widespread among the labor class as it used to be. Even in pre-Soviet days, he said, the Swedish labor movement had made an effort to dispel the anti-Russian feelings among the workers. He declared that the bitterness on the part of Social Democratic labor leaders against decisive Communist tactics within the Swedish labor movement was purely a domestic issue and had nothing of the anti-Soviet flavor in it. Parenthetically, at his lecture the same evening Mr. Wallace made use of this observation in saying that here in Sweden, as elsewhere, he had found that anti-Communism was underlining the "liberal" movement by splitting it up into opposing camps.

The dinner party broke up shortly before eight o'clock, and Mr. Wallace left for the Stockholm University where he was to lecture. The sponsors of the meeting had apparently not reckoned with as large an audience as actually turned up, and all advance arrangements had to be cancelled and new ones improvised instead. The lecture hall originally booked accommodated only some 400 persons and was packed to the limit long before seating hour, while a huge throng of some 300 more people was waiting outside, blocking the doors. The result was that when Mr. Wallace arrived he was unable to enter the hall. The organizers of the meeting then decided to have the lecture moved to a larger hall nearby accommodating some 1,000 listeners, and a great tumult developed when the crowd surged through the streets to fill the new place to the brim. The audience consisted mainly of intellectuals, just about as many women as there were men, and there were many young scientists, including Americans now studying at the university. The American Colony in Stockholm, of course, well represented at the meetings when Mr. Wallace finally came to speak.

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speak before this crowd, it was clear that he was enormously pleased; the turnout was undoubtedly far better than he had hoped for.

Mr. Wallace was introduced to the audience by Miss Kerstin HESSELGREN, the "grand old lady" of Swedish politics and the first woman to become a member of the Riksdag, representing the Liberal Party; Miss Hesselgren is at the present time the Chairman of the Society for International Cooperation for Peace, and it was in that capacity she made Mr. Wallace welcome.

In his speech, the contents of which are summarized in the enclosed memorandum, Mr. Wallace paid great and flattering tribute to Sweden for its achievements in the social and economic fields and in peaceful pursuits in general, and he stressed the important role reserved for the Scandinavians as intermediaries and moderators between the Communist East and the Capitalist West. Otherwise, Mr. Wallace added nothing new to what he had said on earlier occasions in recent weeks, although he appeared to be more moderate in his criticism of the foreign policy of the United States and advocated a middle-way policy within the framework of the United Nations rather than a policy of appeasement vis-a-vis Russia. He warned against continued armaments and appealed to what he described as the non-belligerent Right to exercise its great influence in favor of peace, for "a few well-to-do people who want peace can neutralize the warlike forces much more effectively than thousands of aggressive left-wingers". He had come to Sweden not to appeal to the intellectual Left but to the pacifist Right, because in Scandinavia the employers had given so many demonstrations of their understanding and willingness to cooperate with trade unions and cooperatives in order to increase the prosperity of the common people. Mr. Wallace expressed his satisfaction with the interest in the United Nations which he believed he had found in Sweden and hoped that the Swedes would be able to activate the work within the Economic and Social Councils of the U. N., whose important tasks had come to be overshadowed by the Security Council and its strifes.

The one-hour speech was interrupted by applause on several points and Mr. Wallace was cheered by an enthusiastic audience when he had finished.

Compared with the great publicity given Mr. Wallace in the Swedish press prior to his arrival in Stockholm, the coverage given his speech by the Stockholm morning papers on April 19 was relatively meager, many papers devoting most of the space to dramatic descriptions of the tumult which preceded the meeting. The Liberal-Radical EXPRESSEN (April 19) in this connection took the sponsors of the meeting strongly to task for having misjudged so completely the public interest in hearing Mr. Wallace

speak.

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Stockholm, Sweden
April 24, 1947.
Despatch No. 449

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

speak. This paper wrote that nothing short of a regular mass meeting ought to have been arranged: "The interest in that 'other America' which Wallace represents so admirably is not confined to a small clique of radicals and Liberal intellectuals. Thousands of friends of peace in Stockholm missed this unique opportunity to see and listen to America's peace evangelist number one."

Otherwise, there were very few editorial comments on Mr. Wallace's speech. It appeared to be felt that he had added but little to his earlier declarations which had already been extensively commented on by the Swedish press. However, the Liberal-Christian SVENSKA MORGENBLADET, which from its own ethical standpoint had previously expressed much admiration for Henry Wallace because of his personal chastity and idealism, in a leading article on April 19 took a very critical attitude toward Mr. Wallace's foreign-political theses, saying in part:

"It is totally absurd to maintain that the Truman regime and the Congress Foreign Relations Committees are bent on war. They want to safeguard peace, but they believe, like Roosevelt did, that this will not be possible by incessant complaisance and pacifist paroles. The leaders of American foreign policy surely also want to make the United Nations a strong instrument of peace, but the U.N. does not have that strong position as yet. Wallace's eager citing of that internationale appears rather an empty phrase if it right now came to solving quickly a practical difficulty for a small nation. Wallace's appearance before the meeting in Stockholm gave the impression of obscure judgment. For example, what is one to say about his phrase: 'I refuse to believe that all people with money want war with Russia'. Such is nonsense."

Another Liberal newspaper, UPSALA NYA TIDNING, one of the very few Swedish press organs to take a truly factual interest in the work of the United Nations, wholeheartedly subscribed to Mr. Wallace's appeal for increased support of the U.N., but added the following reservations in a leading article on April 22:

"Wallace is touring those countries where he believes he will find some response. He does not address himself to the governments, he has no diplomatic mission. He speaks to the peoples, he is seeking to arouse public movements. His words would carry greater weight, however, were he not in many quarters looked upon as being partial in Russian favor, something for which he has himself to blame because of certain earlier, less reliable statements."

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The Conservative SVENSKA DAGBLADET on April 22 published the following open letter from one of its readers addressed to Mr. Henry A. Wallace:

"Sir:

"Would it not be appropriate for you to consider the following question: If you had been a Russian and had spoken about Stalin in the same way as you have now criticized Truman's policy, what would then have happened upon your return to Russia?"

Although this letter may not be representative of the average Swedish attitude toward Mr. Wallace's "mission", it does express what many Swedes appear to have considered to be the truly weak spot in his campaign; namely, his disavowal of his own country's policy and his seeming partiality in Russia's favor. On the whole, Mr. Wallace's appearance in Stockholm gave the impression that he had overestimated the public interest in world affairs in general and in the tasks of the United Nations in particular. The idealistic but quite influential people who sponsored his visit here are hardly representative of the average Swede, who although definitely peace-loving is relatively indifferent to international politics. Seen in that light, it seems unlikely that Mr. Wallace's propaganda lecture in Stockholm found any response outside those circles which were won for his cause already.

Respectfully yours,

For the Minister:

Willard Quincy Stanton
First Secretary of Legation

Enclosure:

Summary of speech.

Copies to:

Office of Military Attaché, Stockholm.
American Embassy, London.
American Embassy, Oslo.
American Embassy, Copenhagen.
American Embassy, Moscow.
American Legation, Helsinki.

Original and hectograph to Department.

File No. 030

WQStanton:WES:ljh

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Lecture of Speech No. 445, from the American Legation, Stockholm, Sweden, dated April 24, 1947, on the subject of Henry A. Wallace's visit to Sweden, April 18-19, 1947.

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SUMMARY OF SPEECH MADE BY HENRY A. WALLACE
AT STOCKHOLM UNIVERSITY ON APRIL 18, 1947.

Mr. Wallace began by paying high tribute to Sweden and the Swedes, "the most highly civilized nation on earth", saying, inter alia:

Scandinavians have always known that there is no substitute for hard work, for thrift, for a sense of responsibility. That is why they enjoy such universally high esteem in every section of the United States. For 100 years the Scandinavians have not had placed upon them the same responsibility for world leadership as have England, France, Russia, and the United States. They have avoided large military expenditures, avoided the danger of throwing their weight around in power politics. They have perfected their internal economy. They have specialized in those exports and imports which should best raise their standards of living. They have evolved the theory of mixed economy. They realize that they are still subject to serious difficulties resulting from depressions in the United States and misunderstanding between the Great Powers. Scandinavia more than any other part of the world except possibly New Zealand and Australia, has lowered illiteracy, increased longevity and taken care of fundamental economic rights. Methods have sometimes been socialistic, shown greater concern for the man at the bottom of the pile than for the man at the top, sometimes taxed private property so heavily as to stifle private initiative.

There will never be full peace in the world until Scandinavians play a highly progressive role in serving as moderators between the Germanic peoples of northern Europe, the Slavs and the Anglo-Saxons. You are concerned with the danger of Russia expanding, but you are equally concerned with the danger of a fear-dominated United States abandoning the principles of world cooperation and helping to create a situation which would result in a war in which Scandinavia might serve as one of the first battlegrounds. One gentleman said today that he scarcely knew whether he preferred Scandinavia occupied by Russia and liberated by the United States, or occupied by the United States and liberated by Russia. In any event he would probably find himself in the resistance movement.

I remember my surprise about a year ago just after the Russians had evacuated Bornholm and a Swedish correspondent asked me when the Americans intended to leave Iceland. I asked him whether the Scandinavians did not want the Americans to remain in Iceland as a protection against Russia, but the correspondent replied: "Absolutely not!" Whereupon I declared that in that case I felt that the American ought to leave. When this came out in the press, the American feelings against Russia were so much stronger than their respect for Scandinavian sovereignty that I was accused of sabotaging American foreign policy.

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Even more than most people who want peace and security you are seriously disturbed as you contemplate the way in which both Russia and the United States are behaving. American capitalism, if it continues to be managed in the future as it has in the past, will inevitably produce world-shaking depressions which can easily result in dictatorships in many countries and eventually war for the whole world.

I have come to Scandinavia because it is time to build up a middle path of international feeling, not against Russian communism nor against American capitalism, but for a practical common man's democracy based on a suitable development of cooperatives, of small business, of river valley and atomic energy authorities with over-all monetary and fiscal policies managed according to the principles worked out by your foremost economists. Such a democracy will find its first perfect manifestation in northwestern Europe, Switzerland, Australia, or New Zealand. Such a democracy cannot be safe until the capitalistic democracy of the United States controls depressions, finds a basis for labor peace and eliminates the possibility of a war with Russia.

The common man in the United States and Sweden looks with horror on the continuous drive toward war which is being carried on in certain circles. I have come to Sweden not to appeal to the intellectual Left but to the non-belligerent, to the pacifist, Right. The reason why I am appealing particularly in Sweden to the non-belligerent Right is because in the Scandinavian countries the employers have given so many demonstrations of their understanding and willingness to cooperate with trade unions and cooperatives in order to increase the prosperity of the common people.

I refuse to believe that all people with money want war with Russia. On the contrary I am certain that many wealthy businessmen are convinced that it is possible to work out a system for living at peace in the same world with a nonimperialistic capitalistic United States and a nonimperialistic communistic Russia. The people of both countries desperately want peace, but the people unfortunately are being inflamed by propaganda. The leaders of both countries are certain that they can get advantages by pressure methods short of war. Unfortunately these pressure methods run the risk of war. Also these methods require huge investments in armaments by the United States, Russia, and Britain. Also these methods require political loans and indirect financing, as for example the British and American financing of the Turkish and Greek arsenals.

This is a delicate subject here in Sweden, which aside from the aforementioned three Great Powers is one of the few arms producing countries in the world today. I hope that everybody holding an interest in the Swedish armaments industry is entertaining

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the same high ideals as Alfred Nobel--who is more widely known for his philanthropic deeds and for his Peace Prize than as the inventor of dynamite. The world needs more ploughs and tractors and less tanks and air fortresses. We need more development of world trade and fewer atomic bombs, more cooperation between the United States and Russia, and fewer angry words. We need more action by the United Nations. We need more talk about international justice and less chauvinistic talk about "my country right or wrong." I am beginning to think that in the western world the non-belligerent Right is of very great importance. A few well-to-do people who want peace can neutralize this warlike force much more effectively than thousands of aggressive left-wingers. I want a program so broad on behalf of peace that no man of good will is shut out, no man even though he may have millions of dollars. Why shut him out from peace if his heart is for peace? Why shut him out by calling him a capitalist if we can help it?

A great British leader to whom we all owe a great debt of gratitude has honored me with the name of crypto-communist. It suggests that in some hidden and secret way I am maneuvering against the general welfare of the world. I refuse to be disturbed by any name-calling of this sort, no matter how distinguished may be the source from which the name-calling comes because I know that the cause of peace has never been served by name-calling. The cause of peace is never served by hatred. By love greater things can be achieved than by hatred.

When I appeared before a conservative group of the British Parliament I described myself as a "progressive Tory". I don't want to shock the people of Sweden by saying I am not a Socialist, and I am not a Communist. I have always refused in the US to say that I am not a Communist, because in the US they have used methods so utterly unfair against the Communists that it has tended to make them grow by process of persecution. Thus I have always refused in the US to say that I am not a Communist. These progressive Tories--and most of the liberal people in the US are not more progressive than the progressive Tories--these progressive Tories of whom I count myself one, would in the US be continually pushed from one position to another, and no matter how far they proceeded to the Right would still be on the run.

I am convinced that 99 per cent of the wealthy people of Sweden want peace and that they would be happy to cooperate with their opposite numbers in France, England, and the United States on behalf of peace. I have been so glad to learn here in Sweden of this newborn movement on behalf of the United Nations.

The days of imperialism are numbered. The nations which seek expansion and power will destroy themselves. The nations which seek to serve will profit enormously. Those are fundamental laws of life which the future will verify. I am sure that Sweden is in

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Enclosure
Stockholm, Sweden.
April 24, 1947.
Despatch No. 449.

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a fine position to serve the world in a truly great way. Her scientists, her technologists, her economists and her businessmen stand at the forefront of knowledge. Untouched by war, Sweden can give dispassionate advice to both the US and Russia.

One of your foremost economists, Professor Gunnar Myrdal, has done much for us Americans, and we have been very much interested in his efforts to promote trade with Russia. I know that he is not so popular here right now, but I pay tribute to men of insight and courage no matter what their standing may be at the moment.

I was told in England that in the Secretariat of the United Nations there were employed 250 Americans, 150 Britishers, 60 to 70 Frenchmen but only 4 Russians. Speaking to the Russian Ambassador to Sweden I asked him: "Why doesn't Russia get more men into the United Nations' Secretariat? Why doesn't Russia come in wholeheartedly into the International Bank for Reconstruction, or into the UNESCO?"

(The speaker then expressed the hope that some time in future there would be a string of airports and roadways connecting North and South America with Siberia and the Eastern Hemisphere, and that there would be free travel to Moscow, yes, even to Stockholm. He said that he had mentioned this once to Molotov, who had replied: "The day will come". Added Mr. Wallace: "An apocalyptic vision long delayed".)

We hope that Sweden on political problems will be a source of conciliation. Sweden, standing midway in the path of any possible Third World War, cannot afford in any way to be lukewarm in any United Nations in which Russia and the United States are members. Only in one world and a strong United Nations can peace be found, but peace can never again be negative or passive. Peace must be positive, more exciting than war. Those who serve the United Nations should be looked on as the foremost citizens of the world, giving their lives and their careers to the cause of peace.

There are those who say that the world cannot continue to be one-third capitalistic, one-third socialistic, and one-third communistic, and that therefore there must be war. I have expressed my indignation over this criminal conception in such a way that my fellow citizens have asked whether there was no means for having my passport recalled. It may be that I will return home to reply to them sooner than they wish.

I hope that the Swedes in the United Nations may accelerate the work within the Economic and Social Councils, whose important tasks have come to be overshadowed by the strifes within the Security Council. The next General Assembly ought to make avail-

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Enclosure
- Stockholm, Sweden.
- April 24, 1947.
Despatch No. 449.

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able tens of millions of dollars for vital research in economic and social world questions. Peace must be more positive, more exciting than war.

I find in Scandinavia people of tolerance and with a sincere wish for peace. You merely ask for the privilege of being allowed to work hard and with determination to foster your children in peace and prosperity. It is my dream that one day the people of the United States may follow your example in this respect.

NI/FA/IEL/AAN

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WALLACE GETS GROWING POPULAR SUPPORT

Moscow, Soviet Home Service, May 28, 1947, 3:30 p.m. EST--P

(Text)

New York--According to a correspondent of the UNITED PRESS, 3,600 persons attended a meeting at which former Vice President of the United States Wallace spoke. For Portland this is an unusually high figure of attendance at political meetings.

"The success attending the speech-making tour of Wallace and the large numbers of people who come to hear him, continue to evoke considerable comment in the press.

"The commentators of the (right), who until now endeavored to ignore Wallace, considering him an insignificant factor on the American political scene, are admitting that Wallace is enjoying extensive popular support, which may turn out to be an important factor in the elections next year. Thus, for example, the Washington correspondent of the UNITED PRESS, Wilson, who adheres to rightist views, writes that Wallace's tour has shown that he has active and enthusiastic followers, and that the National Committee of the Democratic Party is compelled to recognize the political strength of Wallace, (even though it dislikes him).

"Pointing out that Wallace drew large audiences, particularly in Chicago and Los Angeles, Wilson declares that the Democratic Party will be in great need of Wallace's support if it seeks victory in the Presidential elections next year. "

Foreign Radio Broadcast #69 5/29/47

RECORDED

62-71788-61

Grand Junction, Colorado
June 27th, 1947.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Am addressing you at this time in regard to the activities and recent statements of ^{HENRY HOWARD WALLACE} Henry A. Wallace, who, from the tone of his recent utterances is willing to sacrifice the people of this country to a foreign form of government, in order to further his obvious campaign for the Presidency!

His connections are quite clear to those who know him as I have known him for 18 years, but many people, deceived by his ^{RECORDED} ~~hypocritical~~ ⁶²⁻⁸¹⁷⁸⁸⁻⁶⁷ squalls for peace, believe his ravings!

With World conditions as they are, this is no time to have a loud-mouthed agitator running around the country trying to turn people against our government which he is clearly doing.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

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DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1 QSK/JC

It is about time to shut this fellow up, before he does too much damage!

No doubt you have covered all his meetings and noted his contacts!

While Wallace was in Denver on a recent date, he was contacted by Walter Walker, Publisher of the Grand Junction Sentinel, who has continually refused to publish anything critical of Wallace. There are, as you of course know, many times when a chain of contacts made by such as Wallace, form a very clear pattern, and I believe that his contacts, plus the character of the organizations that have sponsored his meetings have made a pattern bearing quite clearly the impression of the Hammer and Sickle! I have no personal interest in political

Yours. Sincerely.

B. W. Reynolds

Grand Junction
Colorado.

Gen. Del.

June 20, 1947

Mr. B. W. Reynolds
General Delivery
Grand Junction, Colorado

Dear Mr. Reynolds:

Your letter dated June 7, 1947, has been received. Your thoughtfulness in writing and bringing your views to my attention is indeed appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/16/82 BY SP1GSK/CB
228303

G.I.R. 5

NOTE: Correspondent complains in general about Liberals and Communists and particularly about Henry Wallace, whom he regards as a dangerous individual.

FEC:bjh

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Egan _____
Mr. Gurnea _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Pennington _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Gandy _____

JUN 21 3 25 PM '47
RECEIVED

Proctor U. June 1942

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
F. B. I.

Washington

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1GSKJC

Dear Mr. Hoover

Some of the statements in the
enclosed letter seem so very
un-American to me that I
felt it should be sent to you
to inspect.

I have never come in contact
with the man who wrote it but
I have been informed that he
served in our Intelligence Department,

in the last war, as an interpreter.

He wrote it in response to
a question I put to the readers of

our local paper, the Rutland Herald,
in an open letter regarding their
attitude about Mr. Henry Wallace
Detroit speech and it is not though

Ack.
7/2/49
WVC

RECORDED
INDEXED

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EX-40

EX-40

JUL 14 1949

FIVE

one that Mr. Woshinsky has written
in defense of Russia and her aims.

He may be just a very vociferous
person but on the other hand a
person with such definite feeling
might easily become a dangerous
alien enemy - and I felt it my
duty - to report the case to you.

Very truly yours,
— W. L. A. Collins —

(Mrs. Henry A.)

~~Mr. A. Collins~~

~~Mrs. Henry A. Collins~~

July 2, 1947

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1GSKJC

228303

Mrs. Henry A. Collin
Proctor, Vermont

Dear Mrs. Collin:

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated June 21, 1947, together with the enclosed letter received by you from Mr. Harry J. Woshinsky.

The information contained in these letters has been carefully reviewed and is being made a matter of permanent record in the files of this Bureau. Your interest in bringing this matter to my attention is greatly appreciated.

Should you have additional information in the future concerning this or any other matter which you feel should be brought to the attention of this Bureau, you may find it convenient to communicate directly with the Special Agent in Charge of our Albany Office located at 707 National Savings Bank Building, Albany 7, New York.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

CC: Albany

No information could be located in the Bureau's files concerning Harry J. Woshinsky or the writer of this letter. Enclosures

WVC:bb

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

RECEIVED HEADINGS
JUL 3 4 44 PM '47

Proctor Vt. June 21, 1947

COPY

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
F.B.I.
Washington D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover,

Some of the statements in the enclosed letter seem so very un-American to me that I felt it should be sent to you to inspect.

I have never come in contact with the man who wrote it but I have been informed that he served in our Intelligence Department, in the last War, as an interpreter.

He wrote it in response to a question I put to the readers of our local paper, The Rutland Herald, in an open letter, regarding their attitude about Mr. Henry Wallace Detroit speech and it is not the only one that Mr. Woshinsky has written in defense of Russia and her aims.

He may be just a very vociferous person but on the other hand a person with such definite feeling might easily become a dangerous alien enemy - and I felt it my duty to report the case to you.

Very truly yours,

Mila A. Collin

(Mrs. Henry A.)

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP12500
228303

Rutland, Vermont
1947
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED 228303
DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1GSKT/C

Dear Mrs. Collin;

I have read your letter to the editor of the Herald and found it very boring, and that of a narrow-minded intolerant ignoramus which are thickly-populated ~~now~~ nowadays, especially among the followers of the Catholic Hierarchy. When a catholic speaks of "love your neighbour as yourself", and "forgive your enemies", he means the Catholic neighbour, and even at that he is not very sincere. The teachings of Christ (unless the man himself is a myth) ~~perhaps~~ are too perfect for human practice. To me the whole Christian cult, but especially the Catholic cult, is the biggest historical fraud in human history, that have befuddled and darkened the minds of humanity for the past two thousand years. So many sins, persecutions, wars and enslavements have been perpetrated, all in the name of Christ and God.

Perhaps you have read of the Catholic Inquisition of the 15th and 16th centuries when thousands were tortured, burned and slaughtered; The Protestant Reformation and the religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries came when the princes of Germany made up their minds to keep for themselves the money that was pouring from the pockets of their people into the coffers of the Vatican; and the "Holy" Crusades were an attempt to recapture a trade route from the "infidel" Moslems. All these, under the name of Christianity, were nothing but a shrewdly-disguised propaganda from Rome, to enrich the privileged clerical Catholic oligarchies by exploiting the ignorance and poverty and prey on the superstitions of the suffering masses.

In the present times we have the Catholic blessings of fascist ~~Spain~~ Spain, Portugal, Argentina and several other countries right in our own hemisphere. The Pope even made secret business with Shintoist Japan during the War. He blessed the Italian "volunteers" in St. Peter's square before leaving for Spain to fight their ~~fellow~~ fellow-Catholic brothers. He glossed over the news every time the Nazi and Fasist planes murdered thousands of innocent men, women and children. He shook hands with Franco after the victory was won, all thanks to his "holy" blessings.

My main point is this: I intollerate those individuals, creeds, societies and concepts that tolerate race prejudice, pogroms, religious hatreds and bigotries, class antagonisms, the spreading nationalistic hatred in a people of one country against another and suppression of freedom of speech and assembly. We are a long shot yet from those principles that were preached by the great humanitarians of ~~history~~ history of many lands. Christianity, and especially Catholicism, from your point of view, does not have the monopoly of right and

ENCLOSURE

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wrong, and that Christianity alone is ^{not} the sole salvation of humanity. Christ was not the originator of his philosophy.

People talk about Communists and fascists and other "ists" as being agents of a foreign country, I say, that I would classify Catholicism in this country or any country as an agent of the Vatican and its dictator, the Pope. Most of the Orthodox Catholic homes have the picture of the Pope hanging on the wall. The Catholic's first duty and obedience, therefore is to the Pope and the Vatican. The Popes through the centuries have been the most ruthless and the shrewdest and the sinisterest politicians whose intrigues were behind every major bloody war. Anti-semitism has been their favorite sport.

About the Wallace affair. You are as untruthful about him as you are ignorant. He is one of the few honest and great humanitarians in this hypocritical world of ours. He is hated by his enemies because he stands for peace. Our current hysterical atmosphere can be traced to a subconscious, but nevertheless overwhelming desire for another war; for the simple reason that the last war is indelibly linked in our minds with prosperity, more money, better clothes, better food, better living in general and last but certainly not the least-- more excitement.

Our losses were comparatively slight; (for every ~~Russian~~ American soldier 14 Russian soldiers died in battle); our physical gains were tremendous. Now that the war is over, and we are beginning to feel the pinch resulting from shortcomings of our peacetime economy, we have cast about for a potential enemy, and naturally we seized upon Russia.

It takes little difference to point out that the next war will probably destroy all of us. It didn't the last time, did it? We won, didn't we? We have the atomic bomb, haven't we.

We have subconsciously been drawn to the ~~only~~ sole alternative of peace with breadlines, or war and the abundant life that proceeds from it. As far as I am concerned, three years in the Army with twice overseas, will do me for a lifetime. I am a conscientious objector as far as violence and war is concerned. I am indoctrinating my son along these lines.

Calling Wallace a Communist is another ignorant remark, because it has become a great past-time of "patriotic" Americans to foul a man's good name. Reactionaries who have been saturated in the anti-Russian hate gospel, naturally feel it their duty to belittle a man like Wallace who knows that peace is possible only if there is a little more of the Golden Rule practiced and a little less of nationalism.

Wallace represents the hope of the World for peace. In him is a chance, perhaps the only chance-- for the little people of the world to work out their problems so that a better life, not premature death in an atomic-bacteriologic war, is achieved.

Because he is so completely honest, because he is so tolerant of the rights of others, he is gaining daily, in prestige among the ordinary folks.

Regardless of ~~what~~ what "Official Spokesmen" say-- editorially or otherwise-- there are thousands and thousands of voters in the country today who think and ^{feel} exactly as Henry Wallace does, who feel that he ^{exactly} expresses their sentiments. This vast number of voters and followers must be supplied a vehicle, a home wherein they can exercise their right of Freedom of Conscience in casting their ballots. This might call for a new party, a party wherein no one will dare raise his voice in defense of "Man's inhumanity to man"-- and Henry Wallace is the man to lead it.

Please do not accept this letter as an attack on your person; I do not indulge in such practices, but I ^{do} believe in the right of criticising and pitting one's ideas against another's

Yours Sincerely

Harry S. Woshinsky

Harry J. ~~W~~oshinsky

Rutland, Vermont

May 24, 1947

COPY

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1G/STC

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ENCLOSURE

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Yours Sincerely

Harry J. Woshinsky

cc Mr. Ladd
Mr. Floyd L. Jones

August 18, 1947

BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Major General Harry Hawkins Vaughan
Military Aide to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1GSKTC
228303

Dear General Vaughan:

I thought the President and you would be interested in the following information which was obtained from a source regarded as completely reliable.

On June 11, 1947, Henry A. Wallace spoke at the Norwalk High School, Norwalk, Connecticut, under the auspices of the Progressive Citizens of America, Norwalk Chapter. Prior to his address a reception was held in his honor at the Westover Inn, Westport, Connecticut. While at the reception, Mr. Wallace stated that he prefers to run on a liberal Democratic ticket and he has hopes that such a ticket will materialize. He said that if the Democratic Party fails to develop a liberal ticket, he would head a third party of independent voters. Wallace also made the following statement: "Let's not worry about Communism, let's make democracy work; and you can do that by practicing Christianity. The life of Christ is strangely parallel to the doctrines of Communism. Something new has been added to the old Yankee strain, and, while it has improved the old Yankee strain, we must never forget the worth of the old Yankee strain. It is what made America out of a wilderness of savages."

With expressions of my highest esteem and best regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

EX-64 FLJ:LMH
RECORDED 62-71788-64

Declassified
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JRC 6-4-77

8/18/47
JRC/b
20

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 4
★ AUG 18 1947 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

259

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: July 28, 1947

JCM

FROM : SAC, NEW HAVEN

SUBJECT: INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM CONFIDENTIAL
INFORMANT [redacted] CONCERNING HENRY A. WALLACE
PLANS FOR A THIRD PARTY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7D

On June 11, 1947, HENRY A. WALLACE spoke at the Norwalk High School, Norwalk, Connecticut, under the auspices of the Progressive Citizens of America, Norwalk Chapter. Prior to the address of WALLACE a reception was given for him at the Westover Inn, Westport, Connecticut.

Confidential Informant [redacted] was present at the reception and advised that she had a discussion with HENRY A. WALLACE concerning his plans for the organization of a third party. According to the Informant, WALLACE stated that he prefers to run on a liberal Democratic ticket and that he has hopes that such a ticket will materialize. The Informant further stated that WALLACE advised her that if the Democratic Party fails to develop a liberal ticket he would head a third party of independent voters.

b7D

In addition, the Informant stated that WALLACE advised as follows: - "Let's not worry about Communism, let's make democracy work; and you can do that by practising christianity. The life of Christ is strangely parallel to the doctrines of Communism. Something new has been added to the old Yankee strain and, while it has improved the old Yankee strain, we must never forget the worth of the old Yankee strain. It is what made America out of a wilderness of savages."

This information is being furnished to the Bureau for its attention.

Classified by DP/SS/JO
Declassify on: OADR
5-16-83
228 303

JCM/clb

ltc. To White
8-18-47
7/1

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-29-83 BY 1293

RECORDED 62-71788-64
INDEXED 34 JUL 30 1947

3/21/86
Classified by 3042 PWT/PS
Declassify on: OADR

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED
BY DEPARTMENTAL REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)
DATE: 4-8-87

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

cc - Mr. Ladd

July 31, 1947

~~SECRET~~

RECORDED

62-71788-65

Major General Harry Hawkins Vaughan
Military Aide to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/83 BY SP1GSKJ
228303

Dear General Vaughan:

I thought the President and you would be interested
in the following information which has been received from a
reliable confidential informant.

It is reported that the Communist Party in the
Harlem Section of New York City is planning a so-called
"whispering campaign" for the purpose of securing support
for Henry Wallace and a Third Party in the 1948 elections.
Each Communist Party group chairman is to designate the
most diligent workers in his group and these workers are
to canvass various workers in Harlem. Communist Party
members who are also members of unions have been instructed
to institute the "whispering campaign" in their respective
unions.

With expressions of my highest esteem and
best regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Handwritten:
2040
JAC 6-4-77

cc - Liaison Section

~~SECRET~~
SEP 5 1947

AGJ:mm

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 100-3-4-5881

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 25 1947

TELETYPE

WASH FROM NEW YORK

5 25 3-56

DIRECTOR ROUTINE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Miss Gandy

228303
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/12/83 BY SP1GSK/JO

CP, USA, DISTRICT NUMBER TWO, HARLEM SECTION, ISC. CI [REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED] ADVISED AS FOLLOWS. THE CP IS PLANNING A SERIES OF SOUND TRUCK STREET MEETINGS WHICH ARE TO BE CONDUCTED UNDER THE SPONSORSHIP OF THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY. ONE SUCH MEETING HAS BEEN HELD IN THE BRONX, NY. THE PURPOSE OF THE MEETINGS IS TO REQUEST PEOPLE NOT TO SIGN LEASES WHICH PROVIDE FOR INCREASES IN RENT AND TO ADVISE THEM THAT LEGAL AID WILL BE PROVIDED SHOULD THEY BE DISPOSSESSED. ALL COMPLAINTS WITH RESPECT TO LEASES, RENT INCREASES AND DISPOSSESSES ARE TO BE REFERRED EITHER TO THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY OFFICES OR TO THE OFFICE OF THE UNITED TENANTS AND CONSUMERS ORGANIZATION, A COMMUNIST DOMINATED GROUP WITH OFFICES AT TEN NAUGHT SIX EAST ONE SIXTY THIRD ST, NYC. THE MEETINGS ARE BEING SPONSORED BY THE ALP ALLEGEDLY FOR "PARTY REASONS." THE CP IN HARLEM IS PLANNING A SO-CALLED "WHISPERING CAMPAIGN" TO SECURE SUPPORT FOR HENRY WALLACE AND A THIRD PARTY IN THE NINETEEN FORTY EIGHT ELECTION. EACH CP CLUB CHAIRMAN WILL DESIGNATE THE MOST DILIGENT WORKERS IN HIS CLUB TO CANVASS VARIOUS NEIGHBORHOODS IN HARLEM. CP MEMBERS WHO ARE ALSO MEMBERS OF UNIONS HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO INSTITUTE THE "WHISPERING CAMPAIGN" IN THEIR RESPECTIVE UNIONS.

SCHEIDT

HOLD

RECORDED

62-71788-65

48

ORIGINAL

EX-30

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 100-3-4-5881

1306

R-c'd DC/L
July 8, 1947

Shanghai, June 24, 1947

ACTION
SA/M
FE

UNRESTRICTED

INFO
DCR
OIC
ITP
OCD
FC

SUBJECT: Wallace Interview with
Ta Kung Pao

THE HONORABLE

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

NAVY
CIG

POL-M-0-0-0

SIR:

I have the honor to transmit herewith a translation of an interview granted Ta Kung Pao correspondents by Henry Wallace in New York on June 18. The interview was published in the Ta Kung Pao at Shanghai on June 21. There was no editorial comment on the interview.

Respectfully yours

For the Consul General

Bradley Connors
Chief Public Affairs Officer

ENCLOSURE

EX-25

RECORDED

INDEXED

36 AUG 11 1947

EX-25

G. I. R. 3

891

EC:FS

To the Department in original and encloid
Enclosures

1. Translation of Wallace Interview in
Ta Kung Pao, Shanghai, June 21, 1947
Copy for the Embassy

[Handwritten signature]
115

Enclosure to Despatch No. 1398

**Wallace Gives Exclusive Interview to
Ta Kung Pao Reporters in New York**

Ta Kung Pao (Independent Political Science Group), Shanghai
June 21, 1947

New York, June 18 (Ta Kung Pao special correspondent) --- In an exclusive interview with Ta Kung Pao reporters Yang Wang and Chu Ching-ping on June 18, ex-Vice-President Henry Wallace, leader of American liberal progressive movement, made the following statements:

"The Chinese Government which promotes peace and stability in the Far East must not only be democratic politically but must also strive to adopt a genuinely friendly policy towards the U.S. and Soviet Russia. China's basic problem is naturally quite similar to those of other countries in the world, which have emerged from a feudal system. That is to say, it is not enough to resolve the problems exclusively by political means, but that agricultural and industrial technique should be simultaneously applied so as to raise the people's standard of living two or three times higher than the existing one within the next 10 years."

"The U.S. policy toward China as announced by Sec. George G. Marshall this spring, is a sound one. However, I wish to emphasize one more point. That is, granted that the Chinese Government has truly achieved democracy and, moreover, that she is friendly toward both the United States and Soviet Russia, there is still need for her to adopt a firm policy calling for the improvement of agricultural and industrial technique."

Mr. Wallace also pointed out that he was deeply impressed by the statement made by Mr. Nelson upon the latter's return from an industrial inspection in China, to the effect that he believed that simple methods could be used to effect great improvement in industry. In future, when the Chinese Government really becomes democratic, Mr. Wallace added, he hoped that China would adopt the plans drawn up by Nelson's Industrial Mission, for the development of agriculture and industry.

Mr. Wallace termed Marshall's recent plan for extending aid to Europe as the "strategic withdrawal" of the Truman Doctrine. However he continued:

"I doubt whether this plan will be successful because it failed to endorse the support of Congress. In order to carry out this plan there must be a new Congress in 1948. But to elect such a Congress the Democrat Government should make special efforts in the shaping of public opinion. So far, however, there are no indications for the Democrats making such an effort. If the press, radio, cinema and church could inform the American people of the world reconstruction plan, in which Soviet Russia is included, then they will surely rally to its support."

Mr. Wallace also expressed deep concern over the illegal arrests of 9 Ta Kung Pao reporters.

62-71788-66
ENCLOSURE

110
0
August 21, 1947

Mr. A. F. Hoesel
2445 Berenice Avenue
Chicago 18, Illinois

RECORDED

EX-64

62-71788-67
Dear Mr. Hoesel:

Your letter dated August 18, 1947, has been received and I do want to thank you for making available to me your views on the subject you mention.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

FRY:mjo
mjo

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1B/SKTW

228303

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAILED 4

AUG 21 1947 P.M.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

181

Mon 1, Aug. 18, 1947

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Attn. J. E. Hoover
Chief in charge

Sir, -

Today's "Chicago Herald American"
carries an article re investigation of disloyal
federal employees.

This is insufficient, the Dept. should
also investigate certain potential nominees for
political office.

① Your first target should be ^{Henry} ~~A. Wallace~~ ~~Wallace~~.

Why use a pistol, when you have
a cannon, so to speak, at hand.

Let's keep America for Americans,
and get rid of the scum.

67-71788-67

EX-64

AUG 28 1947

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1GSL/PC

228303

Good hunting

A. F. Hoessel

2445 Bernice Ave

Chicago, Ill.

①

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
 Mr. Clegg _____
 Mr. Coffey _____
 Mr. Glavin _____
 Mr. Ladd _____
 Mr. Nichols _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Tracy _____
 Mr. Carson _____
 Mr. Egan _____
 Mr. Hendon _____
 Mr. Pennington _____
 Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
 Mr. Nease _____
 Miss Gandy _____

EEB

August 21, 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HARBO *RS*

RE: Laboratory Examination of the
 Attached Envelope Addressed to
 Mr. Henry Wallace.

Reference is made to the memorandum from Mr.
 E. G. Fitch, dated August 19, 1947, submitting the above
 item, which in turn was referred to the Laboratory on
 August 20, 1947.

The requested examination was made, and there is
 being returned herewith the evidence, together with two
 photographic copies each of the envelope and the contents
 thereof.

Respectfully,

J. A. Sizoo

G. I. R. -1

INDEXED
 &
 RECORDED
 81

162-71788-68

37 SEP 18 1947

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1 QSC/8
 228303

EX-108

FILED

38 SEP 11 1947

THIS MEMORANDUM IS FOR ADMINISTRATIVE PURPOSES
 TO BE DESTROYED AFTER ACTION IS TAKEN AND NOT SENT TO FILES

Original returned
 to Fitch with
 copies of
 contents 8/22/47
 Attachment

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
 Mr. Clegg _____
 Mr. Glavin _____
 Mr. Ladd _____
 Mr. Nichols _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Tracy _____
 Mr. Carson _____
 Mr. Egan _____
 Mr. Gurnea _____
 Mr. Harbo _____
 Mr. Mohr _____
 Mr. Pennington _____
 Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
 Mr. Nease _____
 Miss Gandy _____

no
 August 19, 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LADD

RE: Laboratory Examination of the
 Attached Envelope addressed to
 Mr. Henry Wallace

Mr. Jack Neal of the State Department inquired of Mr. Roach whether the Bureau was in a position to determine the contents of the attached envelope addressed to Mr. Henry Wallace as referred to the State Department from the White House.

As can be noted this letter originates with one C. F. Roth-Seefrid of Berchtesgaden, Bavaria, Germany. The State Department has asked that the contents of this envelope be examined and photostatic copies be made for their use. The envelope should be restored to its present condition and returned to the State Department with copies of its contents.

RECOMMENDATION

It is recommended that after the Laboratory has examined this envelope and appropriate photostatic copies of the contents made, it be returned to the Liaison Section for personal delivery to the State Department.

Respectfully,

Attachment
 RRR:mr

8/20/47
 ENCLOSURE BEHIND FILE

E. A. Fitch

62-71788-69
 37 SEP 1947

EX-108 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP/CSK/JC

228303

THIS MEMORANDUM IS FOR ADMINISTRATIVE PURPOSES
 TO BE DESTROYED AFTER ACTION IS TAKEN AND NOT SENT TO FILES

To the

former American Vicepresident

Henry Wallace



C.Fr. Roth-Seefrid,
13b Berchtesgaden,
Gmundberg 5.
Germany, Bavaria,
American Zone.

June 26.1947.

Dear Mr. Wallace,

Reading much of you and your good intentions in English and American papers, I want to write you. My father was a naturalized American /Philadelphia/, I was born in London and until 1915 an English subject. Formerly a textile manufacturer in Vienna, Austria, I moved before world-war I to Germany, Munich and Berchtesgaden, and began studying religion, philosophy and the social question. In 1919 my wife was healed from a fatal illness by Christian Science, later on we came to Unity School of Christianity in Kansas City and spread their teachings here in Germany.

For years I wrote books and hold lectures concerning the wrong economical situation in the whole world and that it can only be solved in a spiritual way. Here an extract of a critic written in a wellknown Swiss paper of a book of me: "Right Thinking in economical Work and its Value for Business," published in 1925.

Technische Industrie und Schweizer Chemiker Zeitung, Zürich, 1925."

" Like a red threat the knowledge extends through the whole book, that one considers in the last modern economics only as a means to lead mankind to a higher cultural platform to an universal opinion that not this one is the strongest who attains the highest material success, the best guns and the most poisonous gas, but that one, who has won the highest step of humanity." That is now 22 years later still the same question !!

During the nazi time I was prevented to continue my work /I was persecuted by the gestapo and nearly came to a concentration camp/ and now there are many difficulties: no paper for writing, everywhere hindrances to begin again and nothing to eat. The brain dries out, being not properly nourished.

But I don't give up. Since 27 years I am thinking and planning, as a former economist and business-man, what one can do to help them, being in bankruptcy in the whole world, in contrast to the technicians who are still on the top.

I am sending you included an extract of a manuscript, / in bad English, but I hope you will understand it ! / hoping you can employ these ideas in your paper "The New Republic". The aim of my life is to spread everywhere the truth in this absolute wrong world.

Excuse me for taking of your time, as you are a very busy gentleman, but it serves the good. May I ask you a favor ? You know we are not allowed to send money abroad, but I am very interested in American newspapers. Do you see a possibility of sending me regularly one of the following papers :

The Literary Digest or
Ladies Home Journal or
Life or
The New Republic.

Thanking you in advance for your kindness,

I remain,

Yours respectfully,

What's to do now ?

In seeking a way out of all the difficulties and hardships of our time, we must look at the cause of them, not intellectually but spiritually. Although Goethe said it is useless to ask "why?" because there are always so many reasons that you can leave this question aside, I think when a building collapsed and we are seeing so many ruins as now in Europe and especially in Germany we are obliged and forced to look for the reasons of that plight. This short account may show forth them. It contains the principle points which may be combined and formed to a small book for publication.

First of all we must understand that with the beginning of the 20th century the material revolutions were in their deeper sense not really material but only the outer demonstrations of spiritual thoughts. Because they were spiritual they could not be perceived by the five senses.

We became fools in believing to be able to save ourselves and trusted only the power of money. The last logical consequence of this self-glorifying unfolding was the total annihilation, at first by the own people one against the other, than by the unchaining of a second world-war. Are we willing now after being tried so severely to return to a new ordre of life and a true evolution? The way for it is shown quite clearly but there will only be peace under the European - Christian - white mankind when it is established in the heart of everyone of us.

There is one thing to be understood, that the afflictions of our time are the work and the results of a higher spiritual compensating justice.

We have now the impression there is in the world no more aim to struggle after, but we are forced by the cruel matters of fact of life to get a new point of view of the World - Life - Nature - and Man. That's for the sake of the large desperate mass of men, created by the industrial mechanism and all the machines and engines who had otherwise no more any possibility to lead a normal healthy life as men and men!

The point in question is: to be or not to be of the European -

Christian - white nations and people !

Oswald Spengler, well-known German writer and philosopher, author of "~~Der~~ Untergang des Abendlandes" /Ruin of the Occident/ wrote in a small book published later on : "The 20th century will be a century of wars and revolutions and they will go on into the 21st century." Sorry to say that will be true if the European - Christian - white mankind in the West will not change their mind and get spiritually enlightened!

Most of the most honourable statesmen are using in their far-reaching plans the motto: "In the name of God!" Where, what and who is this God in whose name they are making so many wars, to whom they are serving with words but act just to the contrary?? The word God is still used very often in the 20th century but most of the people have no clear realisation of Him anymore. He is farer away from us than ever! One may better say we are living in an antireligious age. In two world-wars the white Christians kill one another by millions and destroyed and devastated mutually their countries.

To find a solution for all the problems we must begin with ourselves. "Know yourself!" "Charity begins at home!" The greatest need in the world is not want of money but want of love!

What has love to do with economy? Everything and all! Love is the key for the solution of all material problems. But not love of self, love of money and sex-love. "Love thy neighbor/ the workman/ as thyself."

Problems and difficulties, need and want are not sent by an oldfashioned, angry, revengeful God but human people are themselves responsible for them. What they call "fate" is the logical effect of their wrong thoughts, words and acts. You can only get free by knowing Truth and following her rules, laws and standards.

Why do you study mathematics? To become a good engineer or scientist! Do the same with Truth, as a Truth-seeker. Begin with setting aright your consciousness, acquiring positive, upbuilding thoughts, eliminating negative ones. We distinguish 3 sorts of consciousness:

- a. the subconsciousness
- b. the consciousness
- c. the upperconsciousness /spiritual/

The church speaks usually of heaven and earth or heaven and

hell. In the future an indispensable commonplace saying will be:
Life and Spirit.

Hell is our own wrong human consciousness or subconsciousness. Most modern people are suffering with a break, a division of their consciousness which may be called "Schizophrenie" and when it is worse "Schizothimie", what is almost insanity. It is the fighting of good and evil powers in the interior of man. Therefore only a new name for a very old meaning.

Before being able to change our life, we must know what it is all about from a higher point of view, the spiritual one. Prof. Alexis Carrell wrote a book 1930: "Man the Unknown." After many years of research as medical scientist at the Rockefeller Institute in U.S. he said in his book, "we know or at least believe to know very much, but concerning the human being, we scarcely know anything."

In the future man must be put in the center of daily life - work - economics - and technics, but we must first learn to know him. All responsible managers have to do that! Man has generally to work hard to make a living for himself and his family, he has to educate children etc. but what's about his body? Does he consider it a subtle engine, the finest there is, a temple of soul and spirit?

Especially the Germans suffer on one side with an inferiority complex, missing civil courage and on the other side with an exaggerated idea of their I, which brought them so much suffering in the past 30 years and earlier. English people speak more of "we". We the English! - - -

Human spirit versus God's Spirit.

- - - - -

Living in a technical age with so many social revolutions the aim must be to make man the center of life in place of the machine the capital and interest. The latter led us to bankruptcy. Of course man must not be overestimated but receive the right position in economics. As Goethe said: "You must recognize what holds the world together in its interior." Here is dawning the fundamental idea of socialism and communism, the idea of unity in a spiritual sense.

Man is suffering with his many-sidedness. He is a Microkosm in the Macrokosm. He has an individuality and a personality which

we can perceive in daily life, but we must be ruled by his higher spiritual Self, his true Self, to accomplish great works and acts. Most of us live only following our 5 material senses but deep in us is embedded a sixth sense, the spiritual sense which we must awake. In the middle ages many had it and followed its guidance but in the following centuries it got lost and people became ever more materially minded.

Modern psychology teaches us very much but it must be used in practical life not only studied. We must see quite distinctly our nearer and farther surroundings. Mr. Lansborough said before his last year in the House of Commons: "We must study greater maps." All the revolutions of the last years were the result of men's wrong human thinking, putting matter and money at the first place.

If we learn to know ourselves better we see our inner and our outer man, spirit and soul and the body, in the true right way. We can compare it with the catholic church: in the outer much pomp, dogma, organisation and customs, in the inner, hidden behind the surface the real spiritual church, that governs all. (I am no catholic.)

Then we have the idea of - Life! Nobody can explain what it is really. The same as Edison could not explain electricity but showed by his manifold inventions how it could be used without harming anybody. Life is also an immense power, the greatest there is and we must learn to use it aright. Health, illness, sickness, overwork, nervous breakdown etc. get a new meaning for us. Most important for those who will run a business with success. May be as it will: we know that we live!

The old "Society for Psychological Research" in London and many new ones in other countries have done a good job but we are still missing in the world "used psychology" for common people and daily life!

Further on we must learn to understand better the connection /Unity/ of Life and Nature. Everywhere in daily life we have to do with nature. What does it mean to us? Natural science has failed in the last 150 years in spite of her wonderful knowledge and progress. People say: Technical science is the devil of mankind. It could only advance so much in the last 50 years with the help of the great discernments of the natural science. Most of the scien-

tists believe only what they can observe with their five senses and prove with their knowledge and intellect. What they can't prove in their laboratories doesn't exist for them. They are called the mechanics. The lesser part of the scientists, the vitalists, agree that there may be a spiritual reality, the absolute sphere of activity, behind matter, but they don't understand it and can't prove it.

In the whole world - efficiency - is now the most important quality following the immense losses through the war.

Economy, technics, organisation in theory and practice will become the most important matter of fact.

Three parts of organisation will be needed in the future:

a. spiritual, b. commercial, c. technical organisation. The general standard of life, the greater wellbeing of the people depends on it.

Since 150 years we are living in the technical age. It began with Mr. James Watt, born 1736 in Greenock in Scotland, who invented and improved in 1765 the steam-engine and inaugurated with it at first the technical age in England. The English are proud of course that nearly all sort of manufacturing began in England. During the 19th century a lot of inventions were made, their number and speed became faster and faster until the two world-wars in 30 years showed us that something must be absolutely wrong in the working and thinking of the people in all the economical countries. Is it wisdom, nay is it common sense to destroy all the human works with the same means you have built and constructed them?

Well known scientists like Prof. Eddington, Janes, Millikan, Blank etc. say that when natural science and spiritual science will work together and agree in all sorts of practical questions, the real technical age with most marvelous inventions used for the benefit of mankind will come richer blessings for all than ever!

• Atom - theory as a new power. Menetekel!

What is then seemingly the draw-back of technics as people mean? Technics created with the machine the possibility of limitless production and capitalism enjoyed it but saw only the greater turnover. The consumer was only an object for making profit. So the technical man, the engineer didn't work for a higher ideal, a better idea but for greedy capitalists and profiteers. The businessman walked at the head, the engineer behind him, fulfilling his orders. The future must alter this, a beginning was made already with the year 1925. Till there was only a commercial book-

keeping by double entry and when there was no profit engineers and businessmen quarrelled who was wrong. Thus they established a Betriebsbuchhaltung /management bookkeeping/ for the technical part. By this division they got an exact detailed calculation and saw clearly who failed: the engineer or the merchant?

Now we will have in the future a third bookkeeping, i.e. concerning the human beings. The socialism of the world will enforce it with arguments or with power /further revolutions/! To succeed with this difficult task we must begin studying a "Technic of Life", a new most important so to speak science!

In all the countries, in all climates, with white, black and brown people, on the earth and in the air, by day and by night the engineer is following certain exact laws and rules. Everywhere the mathematician counts $2 + 2 = 4$, in all languages.

In the new Technics of Life man is the most important point, the center. Around him are revolving like satellites capitalism, economics and technics.

He is the most important part, his human and spiritual qualities decide the issue of his work.

Like the Chartists in England 1830 - 40 destroyed the machines hoping to get a better life, thus the European people fought now in two world-wars against each other destroying most of the constructions of technical progress, hoping to become free and prosperous. But that is a wrong way! We need machines, engines and all technical constructions in future more than ever, but they must be the servant of the men and not their master.

We need technics to produce all the daily wants of humanity, especially food, clothing and shelter. The merchant failed in the past 40 years, but not technics. It stands higher than ever in a most honoured position, while economics is in one way bankrupt in many of the economical countries.

The technical engineer is the greatest dogmatist you can imagine, the same as a fanatic in religion. In all his working, planning and thinking he follows exactly the prescribed laws and rules. Only by doing this he can accomplish his marvelous deeds.

Why did I use the expression "Technical Science of Life"? Some people may be shocked by this combination. Let me explain.

Technical science requires the best qualities of its raw materials, its machines and the skill of its workers for the production of perfect objects and goods.

The technical science of life asks for the expression of a great number of good qualities by the human beings, may be 200 -

250 ones, all linked together reciproc. for the progress of human life. How to get them I shall explain near the end of my account.

Technicists must never again be the slaves of the capitalists, but must be treated by them in a human manner. Spiritual inspired technical engineers must come to the top. It was a great error to separate universities and technical high-schools. Thus the technical students became one-sided and short-sided, they became specialised and had no knowledge of religion, philosophy etc. There must be found a way to bring them together again.

Technicists and economists must cooperate under the guidance of a higher spirit to whom they have to surrender their human will. Not because a reverend or a doctor of divinity or the Pope say it but for the attainment of understanding and reason /logic/.

Now we will explain what spiritual work means and does. Let us first see and hear what the enlightest men of history in the world said about thinking:

Dhaumapada /Buddhism/

All what we are is the result of what we have thought. It is established in our thoughts, it consists of our thoughts.

Hindu Upanishad.

What a man thinks - he will be.

King Salomo 993 - 953 a. Chr.

What a man thinks - he is.

Marc Aurel 83 a. Chr.

The happiness of your life depends of the qualities of your thoughts, therefore take care.

Shakespeare 1564 - 1616.

Nothing is either good nor bad, but thinking makes it so.

Paracelsus 1493 - 1541.

The power of the will and the tension of your soul is the principal point in magic as in witchcraft. A man who wishes good for everybody will obtain good results. Another one who envies all good to everybody and hates himself will experience the effects of his poisonous thoughts at his own person.

Immanuel Kant 1724 - 1804.

Recommends the diet of thinking.

Geibel 1815 - 1884.

Small be your fate and narrow its limits,
But your mind may be great and wide your thoughts.

Feshenko 1815 - 1

Paskale 1623 - 1662.

Our dignity consists in the thought. We must work to think well, that's the principle of morals.

Lamartine 1790 - 1869.

Human thoughts, the same as God, make the world by their imagination.

Goethe 1749 - 1832.

Great thoughts and a pure heart that's it what we ought to ask from God.

Goethe.

Each productivity of highest kind, each experience, each great thought which bears fruit and has consequences, is in nobody's power and is raised over all human power. Such a thing man should look at as an unexpected present from above which he has to receive with joyful thanks and adore it. In such events man has often to be looked at as a tool, a vessel found worthy of the reception of divine influence.

Schopenhauer 1766 - 1838.

How few are thinking right of those who think little. How many never think, who mean they are thinking.

Carlyle 1795 - 1837.

The thought of man is the real miraculous virtue by which man works. All what he does and advances is the cover of a thought.

Tennyson 1809 - 1892.

Think rightly. A good day is following the thought.

Clifford Harrison 1831.

A thought which seized roots is like a living plant and will grow like a plant.

Trine Ralph Waldo 1890 - 1920.

May all evil flee the good

And all weakness yield the power.

For the thought benefits the human mind

If finally it gets in unity with God.

Jesus Christ.

"As Jesus saw their thoughts".

"Jesus perceived their thoughts."

"In the heart there arise bad thoughts."

"What are you thinking in your heart?"

You see here clearly that all these well-known men recommended

right thinking, i.e. thinking following spiritual lines. Thought is a great power, but we can use it for good and bad. Right spiritual thinking will bring good results for everybody, but human wrong thinking will have destructive effects.

Since about 50 years power of thought became better known, especially in U.S. and in England through different religious sects and movements and many good books. Science of Thought /Hamblin/ Christian Science, Unity School of Christianity /Kansas City/, suggestion, autosuggestion /Coue/ silence, concentration etc. New Thought.

It would be very important for business-men to know much more about this all. /Rotary clubs./

Technical engineers who are daily and hourly working with a power they don't know will learn that it is in the last a spiritual power. That is very important in the technical age! It has a farreaching meaning, think of the atom power which may be a blessing for mankind or a fearful destroying weapon.

Surely men, especially scientists have thought much and deeply in the past 50 years but it was human, intellectual thinking and therefore often wrong. They didn't know anything of the subtle power of thought in the spiritual sense. Only this true sense creates the desired positive matters of fact.

A lot of books and lectures contain this truth and we must remember them. We have it all and we may get aware of it now in our dire need.

The modern religious movements preach the power of thought for getting health and prosperity. You can use it for every human problem, there are no exceptions. It is the only remedy for healing humanity, especially the working classes of need, want, bad housing conditions and all the human ills.

Since 30 years I make propaganda for a mechanical help in mental work and referred to it as an indispensable remedy. I called it: "Geisteskartei" /Spiritual Card Index/. It is necessary to discharge the overstrained human brain of all mechanical customary thinking. The memory is awfully ill-treated which is a gross misconduct. This disposition will help not to crystalize out in a spare subjective thought-atmosphere. A responsible economist must handle and know so different works and duties that he can't manage it

without the best and most modern help, or he will suffer a nervous breakdown.

Here the end of a long critique written in 1925 in a well-known Swiss paper: Technik und Industrie und Schweizer Chemiker Zeitung, concerning my book "Richtiges Denken in der Berufsarbeit und sein Geschäftswert" /Right Thinking in the professional Work and its Value for the Business/:

"Like a read thread the knowledge extends throughout the whole book that one can consider in the last the whole modern economy only as a means to lead mankind to a higher cultural platform to an universal opinion that not this one is the strongest who reaches the highest material success, the best guns and most poisonous gas but that one who has won the highest step of humanity!"

Consider that was written in 1925!!

Today we notice the awakening and uprising of the people in the East, in India and China, short in all the five continents! It is the result of the two world-wars, when they saw the white men fighting and destroying each other. They possess a very old culture and much wisdom, while we have only civilisation and human intellect. What is more valuable, seen from a higher platform? Have we anymore culture??.

The late count Hermann Keyserling, + 1946, a European wise man and philosopher, said: "With the spirit across the matter." That means we must bring spirit in all the material channels. Life must become the highest art and technics. We have to learn that God is Divine Law, the Spiritual Principle, in, around and above nature and man. He is not a person, but the creative power, life being active everywhere. We learn that all through Spiritual Science.

Men may kill and destroy millions and millions, still the population of the world is growing every year regularly like an alarm-clock. Now we have 2200 milliards of men. Behind the visible material world and facts there is the invisible spiritual reality which sets the material world going and keeps it so. God is unchangeable. He is eternal quitness but the human beings, His tools and expressions, don't resemble Him. They are always changing and in a hurry. But why? Nobody can tell us; perhaps because the other fool is in a hurry. Ofcourse the mechanic scientist says that is all hypothetical. Well it seems to me that the only practical result from the past

50 years is an absolute bankruptcy!!

The word spirit is used, abused and misused the same as the word God. Generally the European, Christian, white people understand falsely human spirit by it and think it is the most valuable and important over all. But what are its results? Look at the 50 greatest political economies in the world - they all have more or less at the bottom the same unsolved troubles and needs.

You can't explain in human language what Spirit is, may I say, an invisible power like electricity? But that can't disturb us. Ethics, Metaphysics, Psychology, soul culture and so forth become more important in this time and we must get acquainted and in touch with them. Of course that's nothing for mass-meetings but only for individuals and persons in leading and responsible positions in politics, economics and technics.

They must work for getting a clearer understanding of all the problems concerning man - life - and nature with the innumerable details of capital - money - ground - estate - house and home, property and so forth, and they will find a solution in the social question. There will never be a 100 % solution because it is a merry-go-round, but much can be done and must be done following the two world-wars, if the world shall not go to pieces.

Just before I spoke of a "Spiritual Principle" setting the word to go and keeping it moving.

The idea of God - operating as Spiritual Principle - seems to be in its deeper meaning a most dry conception, especially for sensible persons. People may be shocked by it, but don't judge too quickly and wait till the end of this.

Unfortunately we are not able to explain satisfactory spiritual laws with human words, but nevertheless they remain unchangeable and unfailing, you also may say Principle is not an expression worthy of God because it is used so often for human conceptions.

Spiritual Principle is the absolute ever creating and working cause of all. He is the beginning, the source, the energy, the working power, the primal cause and law of life, the whole material world is grounded and established on it. The word "law" is mentioned in the Bible, the book over all books 400 times.

Just because technics brought the idea of lawfulness close to us, we should find it easy to get in connection with the Spiritual Principle. The mathematician, the musician, the painter, the

sculptor can't miss the conception of lawfulness.

Unfortunately we have learned since childhood to see God as a person, thus everyone who needs symbols may use them. There is in the universe only one great power - the absolute power - God the good, Spiritual Principle and He comprehends all the up-building positive spiritual qualities and attributes in their reciprocal connection. Don't laugh, dear reader. He who laughs at the end am I and not you!!

God is not a personal being possessing all good qualities, He is Himself the Good that comprehends all the supreme beings. They are all radiating and once radiated they don't come back to us.

What does quality mean here? Quality is a speciality, a characteristic, what belongs to a being or is natural for it. The more we are thinking in tune with God, the more we will express divine qualities.

Spiritual Principle is, acts and operates through us, the same as in the works of the technician. He subordinates willingly in the interest of a successful work. We have the responsible task to be the open channel of His will. It doesn't take away our freedom but we get it by working with the Spiritual Principle. Thus absolute obedience must be shown, an idea which the technician adopts without hesitation, knowing that without it his constructions would fail.

All the mischief in the christian world arises from the separation of God and the world, taught by the organized forms of the christian religion. God - wide away somewhere in the nebulous next world - the ~~poor~~ man here on earth alone with his seemingly insoluble problems, instead of acknowledging the unity, the connection, the intimate relation between God - world - and man, nature and life. Everyone can see these connexions in his life.

One practical example for many. A musician enters an orchestra with the resolution no more to follow his own ideas in playing but to subordinate. All the members doing the same, a wonderful music is produced by the conductor with his orchestra. The single musician does no more hear the sound of his own instrument in the general melodious sounding.

The same is with the Spiritual Principle. Following His directions we go with Life. But a law becomes senseless and useless when not put into action.

You may ask: Does it really work? Yes, it does! Everyone can

prove it in his own life.

How can we picture this Principle to ourselves? There are as I said 200 - 250 positive upbuilding qualities which man is able, nay is obliged to express, the same as the technician must express all the qualities he needs in his field of activity to be successful in his work. Mankind can only rise higher by following higher ideals, without them she will stay on the level of animals. Remember all the atrocities and crimes committed during the world-war! I think we Europeans can and must learn of the far East!

What's about the evil? We can't deny its existence, it is the antithesis of the good. Everywhere in the material world we find a polarity. Having a free will we may chose to which side we will turn. At least evil is the absence of good like darkness is the absence of light. You mustn't fight darkness but bring light into it, thus darkness will disappear. Bring the good in and bad will vanish!

This leads at the end to religion. Can we live without it? Socialists, bolchewists and communists say: "Yes, religion is opium for the people." I doubt it. Of course you can take your work for religion but is it sufficient for your whole life, especially for your soul-life? Doesn't it starve? Russians are doing it since 30 years but are they all content and happy with it?

European people had for many centuries christendom as the foundation of their living and working, but have they been real Christians?? We can't say christendom failed because very few of its adherents followed its teachings and laws.

Who are the representatives of the christendom? The churches with their priests and clergymen. They must be the kind shepherd and by their good example and spiritual teaching lead the people the right way to heaven, that is a better consciousness. But! Is the majority of them able to do that??

Compare the position of Christendom - Mohammedanism - Buddhism - following two world-wars! Is Christendom at the top?? I doubt it!!

Take Catholicism and Protestantism in their eternal fight one against the other, both in the name of Jesus Christ! What are other believers thinking about that? In the last war the churches and cathedrals of both were outbombed. Why didn't God protect and save them?

Do I mean by that Christendom is wrong? Although we mustn't mix

christendom and churchwork. Jesus Christ didn't found a church, she is made by men. His church is purely spiritual and invisible. People should read again older books like Prof. Henry Drummonds: "The Law of Nature in the World of the Spirit"/1891/.

Christendom has not failed but the men who didn't understand and live it really. It has a spiritual foundation till now not understood by most of the people but the modern religious movements are trying hard to explain it to earnest truth-seekers. People of the 20th century demand other explanations and interpretations than people of the middle-ages. Give them the daily spiritual food, the bread they are seeking. Pure symbolism doesn't feed a hungry man.

Here we see the only possibility to get out of the rut. We have already more of it in us than we know. If all religious books in the world would be burned in one day, the men wouldn't be worse.

All the professional men and women have the duty to think about religion in a new way and how to bring its rules and laws into their daily life and work. Philosophy isn't sufficient any more because it is changeable. What is true in one century is laughed at in another.

Time is passing very fast so we must begin directly to get a clear point of view concerning religion. Don't forget there are as many religions as there are men. /2200 millions./

It is the only remedy for the suffering humanity. Turning up the radio-or going in a movy may give you joy and happiness for some hours but afterwards it is the same plight as before. Exactly as if you would believe 6 glasses of wine or stout could eliminate your sorrows. That can't give an answer to all the questions which arise in thoughtful human beings after 2 world-wars!

Let us consider the whole matter. Getting a clear conception of the necessary suppositions for a happy life and successful work, we recognise the law of cause and effect or the compensating justice /ausgleichende Gerechtigkeit/. It works everywhere in the whole world with all the countries, states and people and in the life of each single human being. May be it takes sometimes a rather long time, too long for our impatience, but we can be quite sure: it works!! What man sows he will reap. We see now the effect at the German people! But there may follow others.

Some readers may think the author of this book is an idealist secluded from the world, knowing little of the practical economical and industrial life. Keep cool, dear reader! Had you the power of

judgment and foresight in the last 30 - 50 years or came everything quite different as you imagined?

I have been working long years in business-life but changed my profession in the middle of my life and studied spiritual science and Life during the last 25 years. I tried to find out if there is no solution for a better living and working for humanity in economics. My dear friends in economics, did you fulfill the meaning of the sentence "economical" in your work in the last decades? Technicians did!

Let us remember: In 1930 there started in Berlin a World - Power - Conference. Technicians - inventors - constructors from all the world /4000/ discussed their combined problems and tasks of technics in well-behaviour and ease. One representative cried out under the thunder applause of the participators: "technicians must become economists!" At the next conference we must talk of the requirements and the wishes of the consumers."

Afterwards they made a genial plan to distribute the electrical power over all Europe, in vertical and horizontal manner. Two years later, when I am right, at a conference in Japan, they asked for women entering technics, because they know best what is practical for the household and for daily life.

Henry Ford the famous motor car manufacturer /+ April 1947/ wrote in his book: "My Life and Work" twenty years ago:

"People with a kind of foresight who are called fools live very often long enough to see the proof that they were right and the others wrong."

And further on: "What we need are artists that are master of the art of industrial combinations. We want masters of the industrial methods from the point of view of the producer and the products. We need men who remodel the formless mass in political-social-industrial-and ethical directions to a soundwellfound wholeness. We have lost too much the creative ability and abused it for only trivial intentions."

Ford was not understood in the beginning with the use of the flowing band /fliessendes Band/ in his mass-production of typisized motorcars. Taylorism - Standardwork - Fordism etc. And today?? Think only of the massproduction of aeroplanes!!

The same happened to the author who foretold exactly before 25 years what will happen in our days.

Now draw your conclusion of this short account. All the problems we are facing now, political, economical, industrial, educational

can only be solved from the religious - spiritual side, because everything else has failed. Think only of the innumerable conferences at home and abroad with seemingly no results or at least very little ones.

When life, work, politics etc. in daily human life are so far away from any common sense, when everything has failed, as there were two worldwars and many revolutions, we are absolutely sure the only solution may come by a religious leader or reformer, who is no doubt still alive under us somewhere!! Well, I mentioned before that we are living in an anti-religious age, how can that be combined? I think very well!

In good times as we had them before the two world-wars, most people didn't need God, all was well without Him. By this well-being they became careless concerning religion and church service. At present the need cries to heaven in most European countries, humanity is suffering with hunger, cold and dire want and thus they have the opportunity to find back to God. "Man's calamity, is God's opportunity!" In spite of living in an anti-religious century, such a reformer may find willing people to follow him.

The solution for the economical world-crisis.

How often we make the experience in this modern world of strenuous living and extra demands of finding that something seemingly impossible to perform, has to be done. In the language of the magician we "to pull out of the hat" ways and means to perform the task, we have to look beyond the usual resources to find the solution for our problems. Such is the case in the present time after the two world-wars. "Out of the hat" adapted to metaphysical language becomes for us "out of our metaphysical and spiritual resources."

There will be few ones now who have not the opinion that only a wonder can bring us out of the rut. It may be an event in the material world which cannot be explained by our five senses. It is something that takes place in an invisible and indifinable manner and the ordinary standards of man's life can't be applied to it. We must know that the real world is the spiritual world, which has been always and is unchangeable.

Thinking of miracles helps us to bring them forth. The metaphysician understands its laws. It is the law of the Spiritual Principle in operation, working beyond the understanding of human mind. But after having experienced it and looking back, you will find it

was something you could have imagined beforehand.

"Everyone wants to live happily, but he doesn't know what belongs to a happy life."

Lucius Annäus Seneca.

"Why did I look for the way so long if I were not to show it to my brother."

Johann Wolfgang Goethe.



WASHINGTON.

Source of His b Figures

"In the present planning of our agency's postwar activities, what assumptions, if any, have been made with regard to the postwar level of the gross national product, the national income and employment?"

How Wallace Got His 60 Million Job Figure

"The national income which would be associated with this gross national product would de-

—from an address to the Institute of World Affairs, New York, May 24, 1945.

Wallace, on the other hand recognizes that the road to full employment does not lie in encouraging the great trusts. His job program depends on encouragement to little business, whose existence depends on expanding



HENRY A. WALLACE

They must be fought for by the people against the monopolists, who habitually seek bigger and better profits by raising prices and restricting production, while beating down workers' wages.

What Wallace can do for little business is limited, of course. His department cannot push out the trusts. But for the first time in this generation, probably, the Commerce Department is being used to aid little business in very

How Department Works

We'll hear much more of the ~~Common Man's~~ friend as recon-
version gets further under way
and Wallace is given, as there is
some reason to hope, more power
to deal with the problems that
arise.

Henry A. Wallace

U.S. PRESS ATTACKS ON WALLACE ASSAILED

Moscow, in Polish to Europe, June 11, 1947, 2:00 p.m. EST--L

(Excerpt)

"The Committee for the Investigation of Anti-American Activities, which persecutes progressive Americans and American organizations, has recently instituted a subcommittee for the investigation of Communist penetration into the American film industry.

"The organizers of the anti-USSR, anti-Communist comedy at Hollywood specially connect it with Roosevelt's name. This is only part of the anti-Roosevelt campaign which U.S. reaction conducted clandestinely also during his life and which has grown after his death, especially in connection with the proclamation of the so-called Truman doctrine.

"Fulfilling the demands of Wall Street, the U.S. reactionary press began a campaign against Roosevelt's close collaborator and friend, Wallace. Wallace's open protest against the new doctrine, his speeches both in the United States and in Europe against dollar support for reactionary Governments, against war psychosis, and counting on a split between Nations greatly displeased U.S. reaction. The whole of the U.S. monopolist press attacked Wallace, accusing him of anti-Americanism and even of secret Communism.

Anti-U.S. Campaign

"This attack is the key to the present anti-USSR and anti-Communist hysteria in the United States. Wallace is a definite supporter of the capitalist system, and yet his declaration that U.S.-USSR collaboration was possible and advisable proved enough for the monopolists, U.S. expansionists, and warmongers to accuse them of undermining the principles of capitalism and notorious American democracy. In contemporary America you can belong to the lynching mob, you can be an I.G. Farben shareholder, a propagator of fascist cannibalistic ideas, and so forth, and go unpunished. But to be Roosevelt's follower is not very safe.

"The attempts at discrediting Roosevelt's collaborators reflect Washington's new policy, which is a complete abrogation of Roosevelt's program. The anti-Roosevelt campaign is part of the real anti-U.S. campaign of the U.S. reaction, which is determined by extreme social egotism, expansionist greed, and hatred of democracy.

Foreign Radio Broadcast #

EX-30

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62-71788-70
6/13/47

"Denouncing Roosevelt's policy U.S. reaction pushes the United States on to the road of aggression, oppression, suppression of democratic freedom both at home and abroad. Under Roosevelt's leadership the Americans, in alliance with the Russians and English, liberated the Nations of Europe and Asia from German fascism and Japanese imperialism. The dollar conquistadores want to make the Americans forget Roosevelt's policy and to become gendarmes. It is self-evident that such a policy is not only contrary to the interests of the Nations throughout the world but also to the interests of the United States herself."

WALLACE SUCCESS STARTS THIRD PARTY TALK

Moscow, TASS, Soviet Home Service, in Russian at Dictation Speed for the Provincial Press, June 13, 1947, 10:15 a.m. EST--L

(Text)

"New York--The success of Wallace's trip in the United States has aroused great interest in U.S. political circles and stimulated discussion of the question of a third party.

"Speeches made by Wallace attracted large audiences everywhere and were met with enthusiasm. The correspondent of the NORTH AMERICAN NEWSPAPER ALLIANCE writes that 'the success of the trip helps distinguish him as the only person in the United States who enjoys true popularity among the people and who has loyal followers.' The CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR correspondent, Drummond, commenting on the fact that in many towns many people paid money for the right to hear Wallace, stated: 'Although Presidential candidates attract large crowds, I have never seen that the propagandatrips prior to the election of the last Congress and even those undertaken by Willkie or Dewey would have attracted so many people even in cases when the admission was free.'

Dissatisfaction with the Truman Policy

"Trying to explain Wallace's success, former Interior Secretary Ickes, who does not share Wallace's opinions, writes in the NEW YORK POST: 'The success is the result of the fact that Americans are feeling the effect of courageous leadership.' Other U.S. observers are of a similar opinion and in addition some of them interpret Wallace's success as testimony to the increase of dissatisfaction with Truman's foreign policy. The BALTIMORE SUN observer stated that the great audience which attended the meetings is one of the signs that 'there is no complacency in the mind of the people and that Wallace's speeches aroused their interest, something not noticeable as regards the announcement of the Truman Doctrine.'

"It is also clear that Wallace's trip constitutes not only a personal success but an important demonstration against the leadership of the Democratic and Republican Parties.

Wallace's Intentions Not Yet Revealed

"In the opinion of observers this trip has also strengthened the PCA which organized the major part of the (meetings). In addition this organization attracts followers of Roosevelt's New Deal within the Democratic Party.

"The PROGRESSIVE CITIZEN writes: 'We have found general dissatisfaction with the leadership of the party within the ranks and are impressed by the

Foreign Radio Broadcast # 801 - June 16, 1947

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6 MW

Re: Henry A. Wallace

John

realization of the fact that if the party does not again follow Roosevelt's course it is doomed to failure.' The author declared further that in various towns many members of the party welcomed Wallace.

Undisclosed Intentions

"Wallace has not disclosed his intentions as yet. In his recent speeches he declared he will not support the Democratic Party if it remains a reactionary and warmongers' party. In his speech at Denver he said: 'If we are in a position to make out of the Democratic Party a liberal one, we shall be compelled to take the necessary measures.' This remark is interpreted as a threat to create a third party if Truman's Government does not revise its policy.

"Some facts indicate that Wallace enjoys the support of some of the leaders of the Democratic Party. However, none of the observers suggest that Wallace would receive sufficient support at the national convention of the Democratic Party in 1948. The Washington correspondent of the OVERSEAS NEWS AGENCY predicts that the western States, California, Colorado, Oregon and Washington, will support Wallace although it is not considered possible that Wallace will be able to obtain the support of the majority.

"The possibility of Wallace organizing a third party arouses great anxiety in leading political circles and it has become the subject of open discussion among politicians in Washington. Senator Pepper stated that he supports Wallace's demand that the Democratic Party adopt a liberal policy but he stated that at present he does not intend to follow the example of Wallace and to join the third party."

10M

DO-7

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

TO

OFFICIAL INDICATED BELOW BY CHECK MARK

Mr. Tolson _____ ()
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____ ()
Mr. Clegg _____ ()
Mr. Glavin _____ ()
Mr. Ladd _____ ()
Mr. Nichols _____ ()
Mr. Rosen _____ ()
Mr. Tracy _____ ()
Mr. Gurnea _____ ()
Mr. Harbo _____ ()
Mr. Mohr _____ ()
Mr. Nease _____ ()
Miss Gandy _____ ()
_____ ()

See Me _____ ()
Note and Return _____ ()
For Your Recommendation ()
What are the facts? ()

Remarks:

INDEXED

RECORDED

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memo

file

ATTEMPTS TO PREVENT WALLACE TALK NOTED

Moscow, TASS, Soviet Overseas Service, in English Morse to North America, June 15, 1947, 9:10 p.m. EST--P

(Text)

"New York--The progressive organization 'The Southern Conference for Human Welfare' planned to hold a mass meeting on June 16 in the large Washington 'Watergate Amphitheater' (which is under the control of the Interior Department--TASS), at which former Vice President Wallace was scheduled to speak. *Henry*

Re: Henry Wallace

"American reactionary circles, alarmed by the success of the Wallace tour throughout the United States, are attempting to interfere with his forthcoming speech before an audience at the Washington meeting. The unofficial reactionary organization, the 'American Anti-Communist Association,' headed by Republican Congressman O'Konski of Wisconsin, petitioned the U.S. District Court on June 13 to issue a court order directing Secretary of the Interior Krug to deny Wallace the right to utilize the Interior Department's amphitheater, upon the grounds that Wallace's methods 'incite human emotions toward riot and insurrection.'

"Moreover, the petition points out that the sponsor of the meeting, 'The Southern Conference for Human Welfare' had been called a 'Communist front' organization by the House of Representatives Committee for the Investigation of Un-American Activities. It is expected that the court will hold a hearing on this matter on June 16.

"As reported by the Washington correspondent of FM, the Chairman of the House of Representatives Committee for the Investigation of Un-American Activities Thomas (Republican from New Jersey--TASS) announced that the committee will send to Washington, to attend the Wallace meeting scheduled for June 16, 'several observers,' in order to check upon the persons who appear upon the speaker's platform and to analyze any literature which may be distributed at the meeting.

"FM says Wallace, who is now in New York commented: 'Thomas' real purpose is to frighten Government employees, in order that they will not attend the meeting.' Thomas announced that the Un-American Activities Committee is preparing to publish June 15, one day prior to the Wallace meeting, a new 'report' upon 'The Southern Conference For Human Welfare,' in which this organization is accused of an alliance with the 'Communist Front.'

"Speaking in the House of Representatives several days ago Congressman Meyer, Republican from Kansas, demanded that the Attorney General indict Wallace on charges of treason."

Foreign Radio Broadcast # 80 - June 16, 1947

61 R-10

61 W

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. D. M. LADD *DL*

FROM : E. G. Fitch *EGF*

SUBJECT: ^① HENRY WALLACE
INFORMATION CONCERNING

DATE: September 8, 1947

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. E. A. Tamm	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Carson	_____
Mr. Egan	_____
Mr. Gurnea	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Pennington	_____
Mr. Quinn Tamm	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Reference is made to a letter to the Director in the above captioned matter dated August 12, 1947, from the SAC at San Diego, California. The communication sets forth information obtained from a Colonel Fisher, presently Director of the Museum of Natural History in San Diego. The information deals with an individual by the name of Roarick who allegedly was a known Communist and known Russian intelligence agent.

Pursuant to a request from Mr. W. V. Cleveland of the Internal Security Section, this matter was checked by Special Agent S. W. Reynolds of the Liaison Section with the Intelligence Division of the War Department. Mr. Ruppert Guenther has advised Mr. Reynolds that a check in the files of the Intelligence Division failed to reveal any information on any individual who could possibly be identified with Roarick.

RECOMMENDATION

It is recommended this memorandum be forwarded to the Internal Security Section for the attention of Mr. Cleveland for his information.

SWR:mrh

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162-71788-71
15 SEP 30 1947

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice

San Diego, California
August 12, 1947

Director, FBI

Re: HENRY WALLACE
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Dear Sir:

The following information concerning HENRY WALLACE was disclosed to an Agent today by Colonel FISHER, presently Director of the Museum of Natural History in San Diego, who, prior to the war, was for thirty years Director of the Bureau of Forestry in the Philippine Islands, and an advisor to President Quezon. He also worked closely with G-2 in the Philippines and is an intimate friend of years standing of General Van Deman.

Colonel FISHER related that in prewar Manila, in 1936, two of the ranking Japanese in the Islands approached him with the query of whether WALLACE, the then Secretary of Agriculture, was a Communist and Russian. According to the Japanese, WALLACE had appointed a man named ROARICK, a known Communist and Russian intelligence agent, to the official post of the head of an official mission then on a tour of Manchuria and Korea, studying what was being done in forestry.

The two Japanese, who were pro-American, said that the members of this commission under ROARICK's direction were caught mapping installations, taking pictures of airfields, etc. It was Colonel FISHER's reaction that as a result of this the United States was playing right into the hands of the militarists and Jingoists, who used this as an excuse to tie up the United States and Russia in a "squeeze" play on them.

Colonel FISHER took the information to KNOWLES RYERSON, then a high departmental official of the United States Government in Manila, and now Dean of the College of Agriculture, University of California, Berkeley. RYERSON, although indignant at the appointment, said that his hands were tied as it came originally from Mrs. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT.

ROARICK is now thought to be in Russia although he was last heard of in India.



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Director

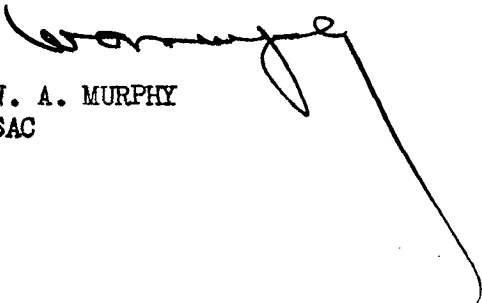
August 12, 1947

Re: HENRY WALLACE
INFORMATION CONCERNING

With the WALLACE campaign under way, Colonel FISHER passed on this information to ROY BENNETT, former well-known editor in the Far East, and presently Editor of the Valley Times, Magnolia Boulevard, North Hollywood, California. Part of this story was published last month in this paper and FISHER is trying to get RYERSON to tell the complete details.

Bureau advice is requested if any further action should be taken in this regard.

Very truly yours,


W. A. MURPHY
SAC

WAM:HB
100-0

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson ✓

DATE: 9-20-47

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Pennington	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Beahm	
Miss Gandy	

At 10:15 a.m. today, Joe Young of The Evening Star advised Mr. McGuire that The Baltimore Sun, page 1, today carries a report of Henry Wallace's speech last night at Convention Hall in Philadelphia under the auspices of the Eastern Pennsylvania Chapter of Progressive Citizens of America wherein Wallace makes the charge that the FBI is conducting a campaign of terror against liberal Government employees that is reminiscent of the early days of Adolf Hitler; that old friends and co-workers of Wallace's over the years in Washington report to him that Agents of the FBI are conducting a campaign of terror unequalled in our history; "They are awakening liberal Government employees in the middle of the night and interrogating them at great length. These actions are being kept quiet. We must demand an end to this silent reign of terror. We must return to American principles."

Mr. Young stated in view of the seriousness of these charges against the Bureau Mr. Hoover probably would want to make an immediate reply. He was told we would call him back. We are sending out for a copy of the text as the local papers have not carried the story so far.

JJMcG:MP

20 Say

Hoover says he does
not intend to dignify
the statement with any
comment.

C.I.R.-2

RECORDED
&
INDEXED

162-71788-72

SEP 27 1947

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NG. 186,110 SUNDAY 295,602

BALTIMORE, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1947

Entered as second-class matter
at Baltimore Post Office

Surplus ine Tools To to Stock Pile

in, Sept. 19 (P)—Up to
us machine tools will
or stock pile starting
s a "reserve against a
ergency," the War As-
tration announced to-

, approved by the Joint
Machine Tool Commit-
on the shelf the bulk
tire remaining stock
machine tools, which
ernment \$500,000,000.
xt month, Robert M.
AA administrator, re-
will not advertise or
chine tools for sale
permitting the joint
inspect and tag them.
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uthorized by Congress
s of the session, WAA
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ch may be frozen for
reserve.

ERS HELD MENACE

rts Discuss Ques-
1 Roanoke

, Sept. 19 (P)—Mo-
whizzer bikes" and
small motorized ve-
by teen-agers who
s toys, present one
ious traffic menaces
ted States today,
reed this morning
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s brought out at a
on current traffic
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chiefs of Police.
imit Speed
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ized bicycles. He
the brakes func-
y at speeds of 25
nd less, but that
in catching at
e suggested that
en to limit the
icles by mechani-
siles per hour.

GRAIN PRICES CRASH IN ALL MAJOR MARTS

Declines Continue As De-
mand For High-Cost
Foods Shows Slump

Chicago, Sept. 19 (P)—All grain
prices crashed today in the major
American markets and livestock
prices drifted slightly lower or
held barely steady at the twelve
principal markets in the United
States.

The declines, continuing a week-
long trend in the United States,
came at a time when wholesale food
prices reached all-time peaks and
demand for high-priced food items
was slumping somewhat in the na-
tion's retail stores.

The high-cost-of-living problem
aroused fears of some retailers
that surging food costs might hurt
sales of nonfood items.

Second Break In Two Days
The grain-price break, second in
two days, was started by an agri-
culture Department report that half
the American corn crop was safe
from frost damage and by increased
offerings of cash corn by farmers
and country elevators.

Clinton P. Anderson, Secretary
of Agriculture, said the break in
American grain prices had oc-
curred "because the people are be-
ginning to realize that the wheat
crop is there" and that there is no
real shortage of the bread cereal.
In a train stopover at Chicago, he
expressed the hope the grain-mar-
ket decline would "start a down-
ward trend" in the cost of living.

At the Chicago Board of Trade,
world's largest grain exchange,
wheat, corn, oats and soybeans
dropped the permissible limit un-
der exchange rules—corn for the
second successive day.

Peaks Reached Last Week
September wheat closed at \$2.61
a bushel, 10 cents lower than yes-
terday for a two-day price drop of
16 to 13 3/4 cents. September corn
dropped the 8-cent limit to \$2.46 a
bushel for a two-day drop of 16
cents. Oats lost the 6-cent daily
limit, September closing at \$1.11 3/4,
and soybeans fell the 8-cent maxi-
mum, November, \$3.26.

The latest of several grain-price

Wallace And Taft Assail Administration Policies

Former Charges 'Campaign Of Terror' By FBI;
Latter Attacks 'Planned Inflation'

Henry A. Wallace and Senator Robert A. Taft (R.,
Ohio) yesterday assailed policies of the Truman Ad-
ministration, the former Vice President charging the
FBI is conducting a Hitler-like "campaign of terror"
against "liberal" Government employes and the Senator
attacking what he called the Administration's policy of
"planned inflation."

Wallace

By HOWARD NORTON
[Sun Staff Correspondent]
Philadelphia, Sept. 19—Henry
A. Wallace charged here tonight
that the FBI is conducting a "cam-
paign of terror against 'liberal' Government employes (the
"reminiscent of the early days of
Adolf Hitler."

Warning an audience of more
than 13,000 at Convention Hall that
Americans are in danger of losing
their political liberties, the former
Vice President declared:

"Old friends and co-workers from
my years in Washington report to
me that agents of the FBI are con-
ducting a campaign of terror un-
equalled in our history."

'Awakened At Night'
"They are awakening liberal
Government employes in the mid-
dle of the night and interrogating
them at great length."

These actions are being kept
quiet, he continued.

"We must demand an end to this
silent reign of terror. We must
return to American principles."

Wallace accused President Tru-
man of fostering war hysteria in
ordering the immediate swearing
in of James V. Forrestal as De-
fense Secretary a week ahead of
schedule.

He repeated the charge he made
last week in Madison Square Gar-
den that Wall street and the Army
are running the country. He rei-
terated the threat to organize a
third party if the Democratic party
refuses to adopt "liberal" prin-
ciples.

Wallace spoke tonight under the
auspices of the Eastern Pennsylv-
(Continued on Page 9, Column 2)

Taft

By DEWEY L. FLEMING
[Chief of Washington Bureau]
San Francisco, Sept. 19—Senator
Robert A. Taft tonight closed eight
days of presidential soundings in
California and headed eastward to
Nevada.

The climax of the visit was the
Senator's attack on what he calls
the Truman Administration's policy
of "planned inflation," and the ten-
dering of his own program for halt-
ing runaway prices—in an address
before San Francisco's Common-
wealth Club.

Outstanding Proposals
Outstanding among his pro-
posals were:

1. Stabilization of wages and
prices at some new level, perhaps
fifty or sixty per cent above the
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2. An increase of the minimum
wage from the present 40 cents an
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mendation.

"I must have lost my place in
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plained. "I now reaffirm the state-
ment made in the text. My failure
to read that part was purely acci-
dental."

When the Senator, who is chair-
(Continued on Page 9, Column 3)

MACEDONIAN GUERRILLAS GROW BOLDER

Attacks In Area Of Major
Towns Seen As Move To
Cut Communications

Guerrillas in Macedonia and
Thrace grow bolder as attacks
are made on major towns. Page 3

By PHILIP POTTER
[Sun Staff Correspondent]
Drama, Greece, Sept. 19—British
and Greek military men in Mace-
donia and Thrace, admitting the
deterioration in the security situa-
tion in this narrow strip between
the Aegean sea and the mountains
of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, see in
stepped-up guerrilla activity a move
to cut the communications between
Greece and Turkey.

The Communist-led bandit forces,
which formerly confined their op-
erations to raids on communities
nestling close to the mountains, are
boldly moving down into the plains
for attacks on villages at the very
outskirts of major towns such as
Xanthi, Komotini and Alexandrou-
polis.

Bandit Activity Increasing
A British officer with the training
missions which have recently been
ordered to withdraw to Salonika
from Alexandroupolis and Drama
said today that bandit activity had
been "increasing daily" in the area
close to the Turkish border in
Thrace.

So active have the guerrillas
been in the Alexandroupolis region
that the commander of the training
camp of 3,000 recruits felt it was
too hazardous to take them to a
point 2 miles from the city for a
problem on which they were
engaged.

Alexandroupolis is also the head-
quarters for a brigade of the Greek
army, one of four guarding the line
of communications along the rail-
road from Salonika to the Turkish
border.

Rail Operations Slowed
Even this heavy concentration of
troops has not prevented heavy
sabotage to the vital rail line with
the result that its operations have
been badly slowed and curtailed.

In agreement with many of the
Greek military men with whom I
have talked during the trip along
the frontier the British major said

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WALLACE CHARGES FBI 'TERROR' DRIVE

'Liberal' U.S. Employees Waked
At Night, Quizzed, He Says

By HOWARD NORTON
(Continued from Page 1)

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He charged that the "monopoly capitalists" are undermining civil liberties at home and abroad "in the name of stopping communism and defending democracy."

"The Americans most dominated by Moscow are the monopoly capitalists and their agents in the Administration and the Congress," Wallace said.

"They Fear Democracy"

"They are those who let any Russian action determine a counteraction regardless of its violation of American principles."

"They do not fear communism," Wallace shouted. "They fear democracy."

Predicting it will be said he is giving ammunition to the Communists by criticizing the inconsistency of policies at home and abroad, the former Vice President added: "Let it be clearly understood that the ammunition is not the criticism, but the condition which is criticized."

Wallace pointed a finger at Mr. Truman as one of the chief breeders of war hysteria.

"Speaking of the campaign to breed hysteria," he declared, "I know of no recent incident quite as shocking to me as President Truman's instructions from the battleship Missouri that James Forrestal be sworn in immediately as Defense Secretary because of an international emergency."

"Method Of Breeding War"

Pointing out that the President refused to discuss the "emergency," Wallace continued:

"I insist that if there is a genuine emergency the people have the right to an explanation."

"If there is no emergency, this action rates as the very lowest method of breeding fear."

"It is not a technique which will melt Russian stubbornness. It will certainly not endear us to peace-loving people anywhere in the world."

(Editor's Note—The dispatch which disclosed President Truman's order for the swearing in of the new Secretary of Defense made no mention of the word "emergency." Mr. Truman's reason for the act was said to be the "general international situation.")

Wallace predicted that another depression is now "almost inevitable."

To avoid it or cushion its effects, he said, "we must return to the necessary nuisance of rationing."

He urged his audience to send copies of their grocery bills to the White House to help the President understand the simple "bread-and-butter issue that is troubling most Americans."

Assails Congress

He accused Congress of failing to attack any fundamental problems in the past session.

"It contented itself with framing measures to sap the strength of the trade-unions, to weaken rent controls and to appropriate billions to the Army and Navy," he said.

"And I warn you," he continued, "that the threatening depression can mean war. Frightened and greedy men, fearing the chaos of domestic depression, doubting our ability to have full production and full employment in peace, may drive us to war on the slightest pretext."

"It will not be a war of freedom, but a war for the salvation of entrenched greed."

Taft Ends California Tour, Scores 'Planned Inflation'

By DEWEY L. FLEMING
(Continued from Page 1)

man of the Republican Policy Committee in the Senate, was asked why his party had not introduced legislation at the last session of Congress to authorize such an increase, he replied it was because the body was "too busy" with other urgent matters, to take up such a "controversial" subject.

Intimating the project would be started at the next session, he remarked it probably would precipitate lengthy hearings and extended debate.

In a day full of political activities which attracted unusual attention by reason of the ever-present CIO pickets—more than 1,000 paraded around the Palace Hotel during delivery of the Commonwealth speech—the aspirant to the GOP presidential nomination also conferred with a number of local party leaders, held an afternoon reception for Republican workers, and made an off-the-record talk to the San Francisco Press Club.

Favorite Tryout Audience

The Commonwealth Club, whose membership includes the cream of the Golden Gate business and professional community, has been a favorite tryout audience for presidential candidates over a long period of years.

Here the late Franklin D. Roosevelt first enunciated the cardinal features of his New Deal in 1932, even as candidates before and after him hawked the wares.

Like his predecessors in this forum, the Ohio senator obviously put his best foot forward.

The speech clearly was the most forceful and the most thoughtful public utterance of his tour. It also contained more fighting language than any of the others.

"The left-wingers are trying to put the burden of these (high) prices on the Republicans," he asserted angrily at the outset of the speech. Then proceeded to enunciate the "truth" about the situation.

"High prices are no sudden emergency," he declared. "They are the inevitable result of the Roosevelt-Truman policies since the beginning of the war."

"As long ago as November 23, 1945, I pointed out that the acts and real policies of the Administration contradicted its promises to prevent inflation and constituted a policy of planned inflation."

Eight-Point Indictment

The Senator delivered an eight-point indictment of the Truman Administration as the progenitor of the inflationary spiral. Beginning with the charge that it terminated price control too soon and did it solely for the purpose of influencing the outcome of the Congressional elections of 1946.

He criticized the Truman handling of the housing situation and his "capitulation" to the theory that wages could be increased without corresponding increases of prices.

He assailed the President for his vetoes of tax reduction bills and for his "lavish" extension of dollar credits to foreign nations.

The Senator then followed through with his own six-point alternative to the Truman method.

Elaborate Proposal

In elaboration of his proposal for a new high level of wages and prices, along with his advocacy of a 60-cent minimum wage. The Ohio Senator told his San Francisco audience:

"Since both wages and prices have risen, wages on the whole more than prices, we had better work toward a stabilization of wages and prices at some new level, perhaps 50 or 60 per cent over 1939."

"Increase in supply and some decrease in abnormal demand should bring prices back to that level from the present level of 80 to 100 per cent increase."

"The excess increase in wages over 50 or 60 per cent can probably be compensated in numerous industries by an increase in productivity."

"If we set 50 or 60 per cent as the goal, we should then encourage the increase of all subnormal wages and salaries to that point compared to prewar. If prewar wages in any

industry or profession were subnormal, the increase might well be larger."

"In this connection, I think the minimum wage should be increased from 40 cents to at least 60 cents."

"I do not believe that such increases in subnormal wages, or increases to white-collar groups, or to the ranks of unorganized labor, will tend to increase prices, but it will ease the burden of high prices for millions."

"We should insist upon the vital necessity of increasing the productivity of workers by better machinery, better methods and better co-operation."

Calls For Tax Cut

Continuing his outline of affirmative steps in the situation, he said:

"Second, there should be a further reduction of Government expenses and a corresponding reduction in taxes, and we should have it at once in order to head off the inflationary effect of further increases in wages in the higher wage brackets."

"Third, we should restrict exports of those products where supply is short, as in the case of corn, and restrict the total volume of exports more than we do today."

"Fourth, much can be accomplished by a campaign of education. There have undoubtedly been some excessive profits and the President has been right in urging a reduction in their price."

"If extra funds are available, it is far better from an economic standpoint for corporations to reduce prices rather than increase wages or dividends further."

Urges Saving On Food

"Fifth, further wage increases should be discouraged to the extent that they mean increases in prices."

"Sixth, it may be desirable to undertake campaigns for the voluntary rationing of products like meat where excessive prices show that there is a shortage compared to the demand."

"The country as a whole is eating more than they ever ate before and, therefore, many people are in a position to save on food without harm to themselves."

"If they do, they reduce the demand and they should reduce the price for the benefit of those who are not so favored by higher incomes."

"Such campaigns were successful under the Food Administration. I believe they can have a material effect on prices in the current emergency."

Seeks More Productivity

In conclusion, the Senator declared that in his opinion no workman had ever been paid "too much" for a day's work "well done," but he added:

"There is a limit to the total productive capacity of the country, and therefore to his share of goods made available. We cannot divide up more than we make."

"The great problem is to tune up our economic machine and increase production."

"On the whole, a good job has been done in the United States, but we want to find the means of doing a better job, of raising the standard of living and increasing wages without increasing prices. That can only be done by more productivity per man."

Largest Picket Line

The picket line here, organized by the San Francisco CIO council, was by far the largest of any which the Taft party has encountered. Like all the others, it was entirely orderly.

The demonstration was restricted to a display of placards heralding labor's hostility to the Taft-Hartley Act, of which the Senator is a co-author.

W. J. Kenney Becomes
Under Secretary Of Navy

Washington, Sept. 19 (AP)—W. J. Kenney was sworn in today as Under Secretary of the Navy. He succeeds John L. Sullivan who became Secretary yesterday after elevation of Secretary Forrestal to the post of Secretary of Defense.

TAFT TALK DRAWS FIRE OF DEMOCRATS

GOP Pictured As Forestalling
On Social Legislation

By ROBERT W. RUTH
(Washington Bureau of The Sun)

Washington, Sept. 19 — The Democratic National Committee today charged that the GOP-dominated Eightieth Congress is bent on forestalling any social legislation until 1949 when it hopes a Republican will be installed in the White House.

What sent the committee's blood pressure to the boiling point was the recent remark of Senator Taft (R., Ohio) that Congress has been handicapped in welfare legislation because it cannot trust the democratic executive branch to set up the administrative machinery.

"Rule-Or-Ruin Philosophy"

Many Republicans therefore prefer to wait until their own President is in the White House, said the Senate leader who is now sounding out the West on chances for his party's nomination.

If Senator Taft was trying to get a rise out of the Democrats, it came today. Gael Sullivan, executive director of the Democratic National Committee, exhibited a fine feeling of indignation over what he called the "Republican rule-or-ruin philosophy" revealed in the ransom note Senator Taft delivered to the nation in his Los Angeles speech.

In order to "have at" the Ohioan, Mr. Sullivan came out with the National Committee's publication, *Capital Comment*, a day early.

"Pander To The Lobbyists"

Senator Taft, he alleged, "spelled out what he meant. His heartless program was revealed by his own words with an arrogance not matched since Hitler took over the Reichstag."

"The boss of the Republican-controlled Eightieth Congress made it plain that the GOP board of strategy has decided to do nothing about housing, health or education before 1949."

Nothing has been done, continued Mr. Sullivan, except to "pander to the lobbyists."

The committee director, charging the Republicans with a legislative sit-down strike, added:

"At first it appeared the Republicans would act on housing, health and education in the second session as a last-minute sop to the voters."

"Would Stop The Clock"

"But Taft, who cultivates a reputation for forthright bluntness, jumped the gun in his own personal campaign for the Republican presidential nomination."

"In his hands—or possibly because of a change of strategy by the Republican National committee—this sop to the voters was turned into a transparently veiled threat."

"He would padlock the calendar and stop the clock."

"He would ignore the pressing problems of domestic welfare that face the nation and blackmail the people."



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FULL-COURSE

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- Crab Imperial
- Back-Fin
- Cole Slaw
- Dessert

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11 a. m. to 3 a. m.

Jimmy W.
NEW CH
2426-32 N. C.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

ATTN: CRIME RECORDS

DATE: September 26, 1947

FROM : SAC, Baltimore

SUBJECT: HENRY A. WALLACE
MISCELLANEOUS

I am attaching hereto a copy of an article appearing in the Baltimore "Morning Sun" of September 20, 1947, captioned, "Wallace and Taft Assail Administration Policies." The Bureau will note that Mr. WALLACE criticized the Bureau in connection with its investigation of Government employees.

Enclosure

FH:meh

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RECORDED 15 OCT 1 1947
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Latter Attacks 'Planned Inflation'

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Wallace

By HOWARD NORTON

[Sun Staff Correspondent]

Philadelphia, Sept. 19—Henry A. Wallace charged here tonight that the FBI is conducting a campaign of terror against "liberal" Government employes that is "reminiscent of the early days of Adolf Hitler."

Warning an audience of more than 13,000 at Convention Hall that Americans are in danger of losing their political liberties, the former Vice President declared:

"Old friends and coworkers from my years in Washington report to me that agents of the FBI are conducting a campaign of terror unequalled in our history

'Awakened At Night'

"They are awakening liberal Government employes in the middle of the night and interrogating them at great length."

These actions are being kept quiet, he continued, adding:

"We must demand an end to this silent reign of terror. We must return to American principles."

Wallace accused President Truman of fostering war hysteria in ordering the immediate swearing in of James V. Forrestal as Defense Secretary a week ahead of schedule.

He repeated the charge he made last week in Madison Square Garden that Wall Street and the Army are running the country. He reiterated the threat to organize a third party if the Democratic party refuses to adopt "liberal" principles.

Wallace spoke tonight under the auspices of the Eastern Pennsylv. (Continued on Page 9, Column 2)

Taft

By DEWEY L. FLEMING

[Chief of Washington Bureau]

San Francisco, Sept. 19—Senator Robert A. Taft tonight closed eight days of presidential soundings in California and headed eastward to Nevada.

The climax of the visit was the Senator's attack on what he calls the Truman Administration's policy of "planned inflation," and the tendering of his own program for halting runaway prices—in an address before San Francisco's Commonwealth Club.

Outstanding Proposals

Outstanding among his proposals were:

1. Stabilization of wages and prices at some new level, perhaps 50 or 60 per cent above the 1939 level.

2. An increase of the minimum wage from the present 40 cents an hour to "at least" 60 cents.

Tells Of Oversight

Actually the Senator did not give voice to his minimum wage boost proposal in his address, although it appeared in the advance texts of the address and already was in print in local newspapers before he spoke.

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"I must have lost my place in reading my manuscript," he explained. "I now reaffirm the statement made in the text. My failure to read that part was purely accidental."

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CLIPPING FROM THE
BALTIMORE MORNING SUN
SEPTEMBER 20, 1947

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
U. S. D.	JUSTICE
SEP 24 1947	
BALTI	OFFICE
ROUTED TO	FILE

WALLACE CHARGES FBI 'TERROR' DRIVE

'Liberal' U.S. Employes Waked
At Night, Quizzed, He Says

By HOWARD NORTON
(Continued from Page 1)

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To avoid it or cushion its effects, he said, "we must return to the necessary nuisance of rationing."

He urged his audience to send copies of their grocery bills to the White House to help the President understand the simple "bread-and-butter issue that is troubling most Americans."

Tonight's crowd is claimed to be the biggest to attend a political rally here in recent years, and by far the biggest on record at any such meeting where admission was charged. All seats in the great Convention Hall were taken, and hundreds of persons were standing.

Zero Mostel Speaks

Before Wallace appeared, preliminary speakers and entertainers harangued the crowd for more than two hours.

Zero Mostel, night club comedian, made an imaginary telephone call to Moscow. He told the crowd so many people had accused him of being a Russian agent that he thought he would demonstrate how he did it.

Paul Robeson sang a song en-

Taft Ends California Tour, Scores 'Planned Inflation'

By DEWEY L. FLEMING
(Continued from Page 1)

man of the Republican Policy Committee in the Senate, was asked why his party had not introduced legislation at the last session of Congress to authorize such an increase, he replied it was because the body was "too busy" with other urgent matters to take up such a "controversial" subject.

Intimating the project would be started at the next session, he remarked it probably would precipitate lengthy hearings and extended debate.

In a day full of political activities which attracted unusual attention by reason of the ever-present CIO pickets—more than 1,000 paraded around the Palace Hotel during delivery of the Commonwealth speech—the aspirant to the GOP presidential nomination also received with a number of local party leaders, held an afternoon reception for Republican workers, and made an off-the-record talk to the San Francisco Press Club.

Favorite Tryout Audience

The Commonwealth Club, whose membership includes the cream of the Golden Gate business and professional community, has been a favorite tryout audience for presidential candidates over a long period of years.

Here the late Franklin D. Roosevelt first enunciated the cardinal features of his New Deal in 1932, even as candidates before and after him hawked their wares.

Like his predecessors in this forum, the Ohio senator obviously put his best foot forward.

The speech clearly was the most forceful and the most thoughtful public utterance of his tour. It also contained more fighting language than any of the others.

"The left-wingers are trying to put the burden of these (high) prices on the Republicans," he asserted angrily at the outset of the speech. Then proceeded to enunciate the "truth" about the situation.

"High prices are no sudden emergency," he declared. "They are the inevitable result of the Roosevelt-Truman policies since the beginning of the war."

"As long ago as November 23, 1945, I pointed out that the acts and real policies of the Administration contradicted its promises to prevent inflation and constituted a policy of planned inflation."

Eight-Point Indictment

The Senator delivered an eight-point indictment of the Truman Administration as the progenitor of the inflationary spiral. Beginning with the charge that it terminated price control too soon and did it solely for the purpose of influencing the outcome of the Congressional elections of 1946.

He criticized the Truman handling of the housing situation and his "capitulation" to the theory that wages could be increased without corresponding increases of prices.

He assailed the President for his vetoes of tax reduction bills and for his "lavish" extension of dollar credits to foreign nations.

The Senator then followed through with his own six-point alternative to the Truman method. In elaboration of his proposal for

a new high level of wages and prices, along with his advocacy of a 60-cent minimum wage. The Ohio Senator told his San Francisco audience:

"Since both wages and prices have risen, wages on the whole more than prices, we had better work toward a stabilization of wages and prices at some new level, perhaps 50 or 60 per cent over 1939."

"Increase in supply and some decrease in abnormal demand should bring prices back to that level from the present level of 80 to 100 per cent increase."

Refers To Wage Increases

"The excess increase in wages over 50 or 60 per cent can probably be compensated in numerous industries by an increase in productivity."

"If we set 50 or 60 per cent as the goal, we should then encourage the increase of all subnormal wages and salaries to that point compared to prewar. If prewar wages in any industry or profession were subnormal, the increase might well be larger."

"In this connection, I think the minimum wage should be increased from 40 cents to at least 60 cents."

"I do not believe that such increases in subnormal wages, or increases to white-collar groups, or to the ranks of unorganized labor, will tend to increase prices, but it will ease the burden of high prices for millions."

"We should insist upon the vital necessity of increasing the productivity of workmen by better machinery, better methods and better co-operation."

Calls For Tax Cut

Continuing his outline of affirmative steps in the situation, he said:

"Second, there should be a further reduction of Government expenditures and a corresponding reduction in taxes, and we should have it at once in order to head off the inflationary effect of further increases in wages in the higher wage brackets."

"Third, we should restrict exports of those products where supply is short, as in the case of corn, and restrict the total volume of exports more than we do today."

"Fourth, much can be accomplished by a campaign of education. There have undoubtedly been some excessive profits and the President has been right in urging upon those who have such profits a reduction in their prices."

"If extra funds are available, it is far better from an economic standpoint for corporations to reduce prices rather than increase wages or dividends further."

Urges Saving On Food

"Fifth, further wage increases should be discouraged to the extent that they mean increases in prices. "Sixth, it may be desirable to undertake campaigns for the voluntary rationing of products like meat where excessive prices show that there is a shortage compared to the demand."

"The country as a whole is eating more than they ever ate before and, therefore, many people are in a position to save on food without harm to themselves."

titled "The Purest Kind of a Guy," dedicated to Henry Wallace; "Old Man River," "Joe Hill," and several others.

Then he made a speech in which he called on the Negro people to "quit scrambling for crumbs and start to fight for their rights."

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: October 11, 1947

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

Baltimore, Maryland ✓

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Pennington	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

For record purposes, I am attaching hereto the clip-
 ping from the Baltimore Sun for September 20 containing Henry
A. Wallace's denunciation of the Bureau. In response to the
 several press inquiries which we had I replied with the fol-
 lowing: "Mr. Hoover says he does not intend to dignify Mr.
 Wallace's statement with any comment."

Attachment

LBN:hmc

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DATE 1/16/23 BY SP-1 GSK/STP

EX-25

RECORDED
INDEXED

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OCT 21 1947

ORIGINAL

ALTIMORE, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1947

Wallace And Taft Assail Administration Policies

Former Charges 'Campaign Of Terror' By FBI;
Latter Attacks 'Planned Inflation'

Henry A. Wallace and Senator Robert A. Taft (R., Ohio) yesterday assailed policies of the Truman Administration, the former Vice President charging the FBI is conducting a Hitler-like "campaign of terror" against "liberal" Government employees and the Senator attacking what he called the Administration's policy of "planned inflation."

Wallace

By HOWARD NORTON

(Sun Staff Correspondent)

Philadelphia, Sept. 19—Henry A. Wallace charged here tonight that the FBI is conducting a campaign of terror against "liberal" Government employees that is "reminiscent of the early days of Adolf Hitler."

Warning an audience of more than 13,000 at Convention Hall that Americans are in danger of losing their political liberties, the former Vice President declared:

"Old friends and co-workers from my years in Washington report to me that agents of the FBI are conducting a campaign of terror unequalled in our history."

'Awakened At Night'

"They are awakening liberal Government employees in the middle of the night and interrogating them at great length."

These actions are being kept quiet, he continued.

"We must demand an end to this silent reign of terror. We must return to American principles."

Wallace accused President Truman of fostering war hysteria in ordering the immediate swearing in of James V. Forrestal as Defense Secretary a week ahead of schedule.

He repeated the charge he made last week in Madison Square Garden that Wall Street and the Army are running the country. He reiterated the threat to organize a third party if the Democratic party refuses to adopt "liberal" principles.

Wallace spoke tonight under the auspices of the Eastern Pennsylv. (Continued on Page 9, Column 2)

WALLACE CHARGES FBI 'TERROR' DRIVE

'Liberal' U.S. Employees Waked At Night, Quizzed, He Says

By HOWARD NORTON

(Continued from Page 1)

vanian Chapter of the Progressive Citizens of America.

More than 9,000 tickets were sold in advance, at prices ranging from 60 cents to \$3.60. The proceeds, after paying for the hall, will go into the P.C.A. political war chest.

Wallace talked on the eve of the departure from Philadelphia of the Freedom Train, which has been on exhibit here for the last three days, and he took as his theme "The Encroachments On Our Fundamental Political Liberty."

He charged that the "monopoly capitalists" are undermining civil liberties at home and abroad "in the name of stopping communism and defending democracy."

"The Americans most dominated by Moscow are the monopoly capitalists and their agents in the Administration and the Congress," Wallace said.

'They Fear Democracy'

"They are those who let any Russian action determine a counteraction regardless of its violation of American principles."

"They do not fear communism," Wallace shouted. "They fear democracy."

Predicting it will be said he is giving ammunition to the Communists by criticizing the inconsistency of policies at home and abroad, the former Vice President added:

"Let it be clearly understood that the ammunition is not the criticism, but the condition which is criticized."

Wallace pointed a finger at Mr. Truman as one of the chief breeders of war hysteria.

"Speaking of the campaign to breed hysteria," he declared, "I know of no recent incident quite as shocking to me as President Truman's instructions from the battleship Missouri that James Forrestal be sworn in immediately as Defense Secretary because of an international emergency."

'Method Of Breeding War'

Pointing out that the President refused to discuss the "emergency," Wallace continued:

"I insist that if there is a genuine emergency the people have the right to an explanation."

"If there is no emergency, this action rates as the very lowest method of breeding fear."

"It is not a technique which will melt Russian stubbornness. It will certainly not endear us to peace-loving people anywhere in the world."

[Editor's Note—The dispatch which disclosed President Truman's order for the swearing in of the new Secretary of Defense made no mention of the word "emergency." Mr. Truman's reason for the act was said to be the "general international situation."]

Wallace predicted that another depression is now "almost inevitable."

To avoid it or cushion its effects, he said, "we must return to the necessary nuisance of rationing."

He urged his audience to send copies of their grocery bills to the White House to help the President understand the simple "bread-and-butter issue that is troubling most Americans."

Assails Congress

He accused Congress of failing to attack any fundamental problems in the past session.

"It contented itself with framing measures to sap the strength of the trade-unions, to weaken rent controls and to appropriate billions to the Army and Navy," he said.

"And I warn you," he continued, "that the threatening depression can mean war. Frightened and greedy men, fearing the chaos of domestic depression, doubting our ability to have full production and full employment in peace, may drive us to war on the slightest pretext."

"It will not be a war of freedom but a war for the salvation of entrenched greed."

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BY

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EX-25

Director, FBI

ATTN: CRIME RECORDS

October 4, 1947

SAC, Baltimore

HENRY A. WALLACE

MISCELLANEOUS

I am attaching hereto a copy of an editorial appearing in the Baltimore "Morning Sun" of September 30, 1947, pertaining to the speech of Mr. WALLACE in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, at which time he made a number of comments in regard to the Bureau.

I thought the comments contained in this editorial would be of interest to the Bureau.

Enclosure
FH:meb

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228303

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APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES

~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director, FBI

DATE

October 9, 1947

SAC, New Haven

PROGRESSIVE CITIZENS OF AMERICA
SECURITY MATTER - C

DECLASSIFIED BY DDA RSK/SC
ON 5-16-83
228303

RE: HENRY WALLACE SPEECH - NEW HAVEN ARENA
OCTOBER 8, 1947

Special Agents JAMES T. HAVERTY and ARTHUR R. WADE attended a rally in the New Haven Arena on Wednesday, October 8, 1947, at 8:30 P.M., sponsored by the PCA Connecticut Chapter. The attendance was nearly fifty five hundred persons, who paid from sixty five cents to two dollars and fifty cents admission. The purpose of the rally, according to Dr. FRANK KINGDON, co-Chairman of the National PCA, was to recommend WALLACE for President on a Democratic or Third Party Ticket, depending on how events developed in 1948.

The program of events was opened by the singing of the National Anthem and then the lights in the Arena were turned out and a voice on the public address system introduced each speaker in the darkened auditorium. As the speakers mounted the platform, spotlights were trained on them. The unidentified voice claimed he was the voice of the PCA. The speakers were -

Professor THOMAS EMERSON, professor of Law at Yale University, who stated the political aims of the PCA, including the repeal of the TAFT-HARTLEY bill and any other legislation unfavorable to the Labor Unions.

Dr. ALLAN HICKERSON, head of New Haven State Teachers College, who described briefly the history of the PCA in Connecticut, concluding that it was the only progressive political party in the country at the present time.

PAUL ROBESON, well known Negro singer sang four songs including "Ol' Man River" and "Joe Hill". These were critical of the present social distinctions made in this country between the colored race and the white. ROBESON concluded his appearance by a recitation of the poem called "Freedom Train", which also derided the racial distinctions drawn between the colored and white persons traveling on trains in the South.

Dr. FRANK KINGDON, co-Chairman of the National PCA, gave a vigorous talk lasting thirty minutes to introduce HENRY A. WALLACE, former Vice President, who was the principal speaker. KINGDON criticized the present high price levels, the condition of the National Building Program, the condition of the Jewish question, particularly with regard to Palestine and the establishment of aid for Greece and Turkey, punctuating each section of his remarks by the slogan that it was time for the people to do something about it and to "come out fighting". KINGDON stated that he was against universal military training in the United States and then made

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a few remarks on each of the following persons whom he considered presidential candidates for the 1948 presidential elections: Senator ROBERT A. TAFT; Governor THOMAS E. DEWEY; JOSEPH MARTIN, Leader of the House of Representatives; Senator RAYMOND BALDWIN of Connecticut, and concluded that the only real candidate worth considering was HENRY A. WALLACE and that he wanted WALLACE to run for the Presidency. At this point KINGDON stated that they needed not only courage but money to carry on the program to nominate WALLACE for the presidency. To obtain this money he stated that the PCA could not contact any wealthy persons in the country, such as, DUPONT, as the Republican Party would do, because there were no wealthy members in the PCA. Further, they could not contact any corporations with the threat of adverse legislation as the Democratic Party would do and consequently they must call on the people to contribute to the campaign fund. From the platform KINGDON called for donations starting off with the request for one thousand dollar donations, then requesting five hundred dollars, two hundred fifty dollars, one hundred dollars, fifty dollars, twenty-five dollars, ten dollars, five dollars and then any amount that anyone desired to contribute. As these pledges were made to the ushers, the names were called by KINGDON over the public address system and it was noted that RALPH POMERANCE was the only person to donate one thousand dollars. POMERANCE is Chairman of the Greenwich Chapter of the PCA and has acted in all PCA sponsored rallies and programs in Connecticut. A rough tally kept by the Agents indicated that \$8,465 was pledged exclusive of the miscellaneous amounts under five dollars. Local newspapers indicated the total collected was approximately twelve thousand dollars.

Mr. WALLACE opened his speech by stating that since Connecticut had established the three per cent sales tax, his wife seldom shopped in Connecticut although they live just over the line. He remarked that special mention should be made of the work of Chester A. Bowles in his attempt to continue price controls. He described the late Fiorella LaGuardia as a great humanitarian, whose death had been the biggest loss to the United States since the death of the late President Roosevelt. He then described the wheat crops in the United States and the European countries and criticized the State Department for playing politics with the food situation in Europe. WALLACE advocated aid to Europe and recommended the passage of the bill for eight billion dollars to furnish this aid. He stated, however, that the aid should be granted freely and there should be no attempt to dictate the internal politics of any country in which the people were starving. WALLACE remarked that the MARSHALL Plan had appeared good to him at first, but stated that the State Department with its policies had undermined this Plan to such an extent that it was now valueless. WALLACE mentioned the fact that the publicly announced formation of an international "clearing house for the exchange of information" by the Communist parties of the countries of Eastern Europe had been branded a new Comintern by the press. WALLACE stated that it was merely an indication to him of the split which has developed between the United States and Russia in their attempt to establish world peace. He made the remark that this was merely a symptom of the split and not the cause. WALLACE stated that while both the United States and Russia had won the peace they were preparing for war. He called upon the State Department of the United States to issue a clear statement on the differences which exist between the United States

and Russia and desired the Kremlin to make a similar statement. As a further method of establishing lasting peace he stated that President TRUMAN and Secretary MARSHALL should invite STALIN and MOLOTOV to a conference and at this conference they should establish the differences between their governments so that suitable adjustments could be made. On the Palestine question, WALLACE remarked that we were double-crossing the Jews to protect the interests of two oil companies which control ninety per cent of the oil resources of the Near East exclusive of the oil resources of Russia. He stated that it appeared that the foreign policy of the State Department seemed to be based on this view. In conclusion, WALLACE stated that his major consideration was to establish a permanent peace.

It was noted that the New Haven Arena was practically filled but that there were available a few seats although the rally was stated to be a sell out. PAUL ROBESON received the most acclaim from the audience and it was noted that several people began to leave the building in the middle of WALLACE'S speech which lasted approximately forty-five minutes.

A number of those present had difficulty in understanding the speakers due to malfunctioning of the public address system. Another factor which tended to mar the reception was the loud noise made by a poorly functioning spotlight.

Informants covering "C" affairs advise that the rally was wholeheartedly supported by members of the "C.P." and that these members were most active in selling tickets to the affair. These same informants advise that local C.P. officials were pleased with the success of the meeting and with WALLACE'S speech.

ARW:FCM

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : SAC, Boston

SUBJECT: HENRY A. WALLACE
INFORMATION CONCERNING

DATE: October 18, 1947

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1GSK/JC

The Boston Globe on October 18, 1947, carried the following local news item:

"U. S. Is Drifting Into 'Police State,'
Wallace Says Here

"A 'rapid drift' towards a police state has been evident in this country during the past six months, former Vice President Henry A. Wallace told reporters here last night during a half-hour layover at Logan Airport on his air journey to Palestine.

"Communism, he declared, is no threat whatsoever to America. It is being used, he said, merely as a weapon for political purposes.

"England has managed to preserve its civil liberties more than we have since the war," Wallace said.

"In this country, we are in almost the same situation that existed when the Alien and Sedition Act was passed in 1789."

"An alleged probe of the Treasury Department involving the dragging of past and present treasury officials from their beds by FBI agents, was cited by Wallace as evidence for the drift to the 'police state.'"

"I suppose these treasury workers are supposed to be helping Russia," said the former Vice President sarcastically.

"Morgenthau 'worried'"

Wallace said he had talked with former Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau on the probe and that Morgenthau was 'worried' about it, although he had not been questioned personally.

Wallace, who recently completed a vigorous cross-country speaking tour, is bound for Palestine for a first-hand investigation of the situation there. His New York-to-Cairo TWA Starliner

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. E. A. Tamm	✓
Mr. Clegg	✓
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tracy	✓
Mr. Egan	✓
Mr. Gurnea	✓
Mr. Harbo	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Pennington	✓
Mr. Quinn Tamm	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

COPIES DESTROYED
20 5 NOV 1 1964

Director, FBI

'Shalimar' landed at Logan Airport last night for a routine refueling stop.

"In answer to questions on the food situation, Wallace hit at present measures to save grains as 'laughable' and urged that the percentage of wheat going to make flour be increased. At present, he said, 30 per cent of all grain harvested is used for other purposes than flour.

"He called as well for a return of price control, rationing, and other controls to save grain 'if we mean business.'"

The above information is being provided the Bureau for the completion of its files.

100-20574

TFM:rol

RECORDED

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EX-1

November 8, 1947

Miss Geraldine Jewell
Apartment 6
1060A American Avenue
Long Beach, California

Dear Miss Jewell:

Your letter of November 3, 1947, has been received. I do want to thank you for making your information and the clippings you enclosed available to me. The patriotic motives prompting your communication are indeed appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

NOTE: There is no record on correspondent in general files.

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228303

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

WN:mc
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 3
NOV 8 - 1947 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Long Beach, Calif.
Nov. 3, 1947

FBI...

Mr. Hoover;

Dear Sir:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1GSKJC
228303

Two incidents have happened in the past month which should be watched. First, this is a word for word account of the conversation as it happened in a cleaning shop:

A man of about thirty speaking with a heavy accent walked into the shop where I had taken a sweater to be cleaned, in the presence of the cleaner, another woman and myself this is what happened:

"Are you folks registered voters?" He asked us.

"Yes. Why?" We replied.

"I want you to sign this petition," he said.

"What kind of a petition?" I asked.

"To start a PROGRESSIVE INTERNATIONAL PARTY in the U.S.," he said.

"What are you planning on doing with the two we have?" I asked.

"They are out-moded and old-fashioned," he said.

"Who are you running for president?" the cleaner then asked.

"Henry Wallace of course," he replied proudly.

"I wouldn't vote for Henry Wallace if we never had a president," I exploded.

He turned upon me arrogantly and said, "You are

HENRY A. WALLACE

ack 11/18/47

62-71788-78

not informed."

I replied, "I read two newspapers a day, listen to most of the commentators, see a newsreel everyday and read books and magazines."

"That stuff is all put out by wall street for people like you who are to dumb to realize the facts," he snorted.

"And where do you get your information," I shot back, "From Russia?"

"Russia, Russia, why are you so afraid of Russia."

"We are not afraid of Russia. But we know war means death. Besides I do not think the Bill of Rights and the Constitution can be improved upon. Any fault lies with dishonest individuals seeking to destroy it."

He scoffed at us for saying that.

Then he brazenly threatened in measured words, "You are very shortly going to lose that Constitution and that Bill of Rights." He turned quickly and walked out of the shop leaving us angry at having to be insulted by people who are seeking and bragging about it, to overthrow the government. And those people are using our First Amendment to sanction their infamous cause.

Un-American people hiding behind the Bill of Rights is like a coward hiding behind the skirts of a woman and if the men who wrote those "Rights " hould have foreseen that people born within the borders of America could be so low as to use it to hide behind I KNOW THEY WOULD HAVE WORDED IT FAR DIFFERENTLY.

THE OTHER THING WHICH IS GOING ON HERE IN LONG BEACH...AND WHICH WERE HANDED OUT BY THE THOUSANDS ON DOWNTOWN STREETS NOV. 1st. IS THE ENCLOSED PAMPHLET.

I believe that the Socialist are really Communists and that they will use the other parties as a guise or cover-up for the Communists activities and to put over their aims.

I BELIEVE HENRY WALACE IS A COMMUNIST MASKING UNDER ^{The} ~~THE~~ GUISE OF A DEMOCRAT-IF NOT, THEN WHY DID THE MAN SAY-THAT THEY WISHED TO START UP A PROGRESSIVE INTERNATIONAL(which is communist) AND RUN HIM FOR PRESIDENT. IF HE SHOULD RUN IN THE FUTURE ON A DEMOCRATIC TICKET...PEOPLE WILL BE MISLED. SHOULD HE WIN, HE WILL SELL THIS COUNTRY SHORT. HE SHOULD BE KEPT UNDER CONSTANT SURVEILLANCE. Then the people who think and believe him to be an honest idealist could and should be informed as to his true color. I BELIEVE THE SAME IS TRUE OF SENATOR ~~REPPER~~.

CLAUDE

Sincerely,

Geraldyn Jewell NR
Geraldyn Jewell
1060A-American Ave.
Apt. 6
Long Beach, Calif.

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DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1GSKJC
228303

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

62-71788-78

I DO NOT LIKE THE THREAT AND TONE OF THESE.
I BELIEVE DR. RUTH ALEXANDER IS RIGHT IN THIS
INCLOSED CLIPPING.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

DO WE HAVE A DEMOCRACY?

A STRAIGHTFORWARD ANSWER
TO A BURNING QUESTION

FROM THE CRADLE ON, YOU'VE HAD IT POUNDED INTO YOU THAT "OUR WAY OF LIFE" IS A NEARLY PERFECT DEMOCRACY. LET'S BE SKEPTICS FOR A MINUTE -- AND PUT IT TO A TEST...

1

WHAT IS IT?

FORGET THE PHRASES OF LAWYERS AND POLITICIANS. THERE'S NO MYSTERY...

DEMOCRACY MEANS ONLY ONE THING:

RULE BY & FOR THE PEOPLE

NOW APPLY THAT ACID TEST TO THE U.S. HOW DOES IT MEASURE UP? IS IT THE REAL THING -- OR HAVE WE BEEN SOLD A GOLD BRICK?

REMEMBER-- "RULE BY AND FOR THE PEOPLE" THE QUESTION IS...

2

DO WE HAVE IT?

WE DO HAVE POLITICAL DEMOCRACY

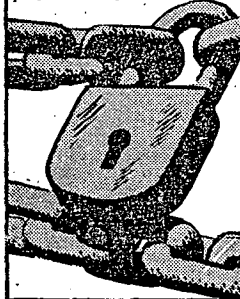
FOR ONE THING, YOU MAY VOTE... EVERY YEAR OR SO, YOU CAN GO TO THE POLLS AND PICK SOME NAMES.

AND THERE'S FREEDOM OF SPEECH. YOU CAN SIGN PETITIONS-- DISTRIBUTE LITERATURE -- AND EXPRESS YOUR VIEWS IN PUBLIC.

ALL THIS IS FINE-- **BUT...**

I BELIEVE THIS IS A COMMUNIST ORGANIZING UNDER THE SOCIALIST BANNER.

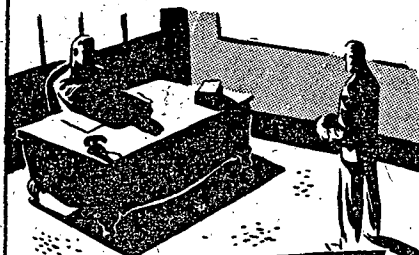
A VAST, UNLIMITED
DESPOTISM
CASTS A SHADOW
ACROSS THE LAND...



THIS IS CAPITALISM. UNDER IT THE
CAPITALIST CLASS HOLDS TERRIFYING POWER
OVER THE JOBS AND LIVES OF MILLIONS,
BECAUSE THEY OWN INDUSTRY.



THE WORKERS ARE REDUCED TO
THE STATUS OF COMMODITIES--
COMPELLED TO SELL THEIR
LABOR POWER TO THE FEW
IN THE LABOR MARKET.

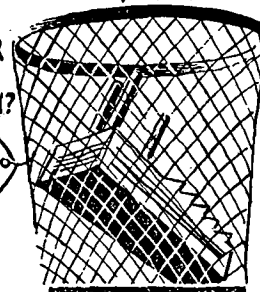


RULE BY THE PEOPLE?

A PLANT RUNS OR IS SHUT DOWN
AS BENEFITS THE FEW. PROFIT,
NOT HUMAN NEED, CASTS THE
VOTE!

REMEMBER
THE LAST
DEPRESSION?

IMPORTABLE



RULE FOR THE PEOPLE?

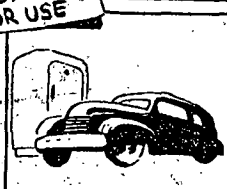
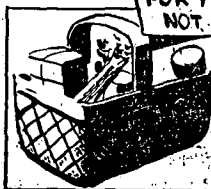
COMPARE OUR
ENORMOUS
WARTIME
PRODUCTION...



WITH THE AMERICAN WORKERS'
LOW STANDARD OF LIVING.



FOR PROFIT---
NOT FOR USE

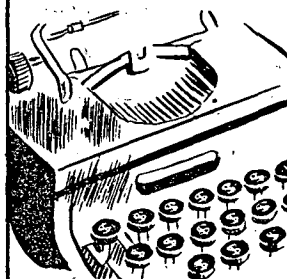


IS THIS
DEMOCRACY FOR
THE PEOPLE?

FROM WHERE
WE STAND, IT
LOOKS LIKE
DEMOCRACY
FOR THE
CAPITALIST
CLASS!

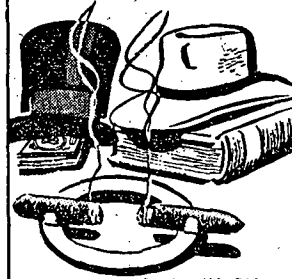
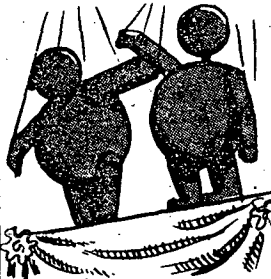
**BUT- MORE
THAN THAT....**

ECONOMIC DESPOTISM WIPES OUT POLITICAL DEMOCRACY...



NEWSPAPERS & RADIO
ARE CAPITALIST-OWN-
ED... THEY MOLD YOUR
THINKING.

AND URGE YOU TO
VOTE FOR HAND-
PICKED CANDIDATES.



...WHO KNOW WHICH
SIDE TO PROTECT IN
THE LEGISLATURES
OF THE LAND.

LISTEN TO WHAT WOODROW WILSON
SAID ON THE SUBJECT:



THE MASTERS OF THE GOVERNMENT
...ARE THE COMBINED CAPITALISTS
AND MANUFACTURERS OF THE UNITED
STATES. IT IS WRITTEN OVER EVERY
INTIMATE PAGE OF THE RECORDS
OF CONGRESS...
...THE MEN REALLY CONSULTED
ARE THE MEN WHO HAVE THE BIG-
GEST STAKE--THE BIG BANKERS,
THE BIG MANUFACTURERS, THE BIG
MASTERS OF COMMERCE...
THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED
STATES IS A FOSTER-CHILD OF
THE SPECIAL INTERESTS...

---"THE NEW FREEDOM"

RULE BY AND FOR
THE PEOPLE?!!



CAPITALISM USES
THE FORMS OF
DEMOCRACY--TO
CLOAK CLASS RULE!

WHAT THE
WORKERS
NEED IS
DEMOCRACY
IN THE
INDUSTRIES

3
**HOW
CAN WE
GET IT?**



THE ANSWER IS
SHOCKINGLY SIMPLE



INDUSTRY MUST BE OWNED AND
MANAGED -- NOT PRIVATELY, OR
BY THE POLITICAL STATE....



...BUT BY THE WORKERS WHO RUN
INDUSTRY--BY SOCIETY ITSELF

THIS, AND
NOTHING
ELSE, IS
SOCIALISM--
THIS IS REAL
DEMOCRACY!



THE DEMOCRACY OF SOCIALISM

If you DO want a real democracy, a democracy based on economic security, then study the program of the Socialist Labor Party. The goal of the Socialist Labor Party is—

1. The capture of the capitalist political state with the view of abolishing it since the machinery of the state can only be used as an instrument of the ruling class to keep the wage workers of the land in continuous subjection.

2. Collective ownership of all the means of wealth production and distribution—that is, ownership of industry by all the people.

3. Production of goods and services for use instead of for sale and profit.

4. Democratic management of industry through Socialist Industrial Union councils, the members of which would be elected by the workers in each industry.

5. The Socialist Labor Party is the ONLY organization WHICH HAS A PROGRAM for achieving Socialism. Write now for free literature. Learn HOW to build the most complete democracy civilized man has ever known.

For further information and for free 48-page booklet on Socialism, send the coupon below.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY
1337 1/2 West 52nd Street—Los Angeles 37, Calif.

I am interested in Socialism. Without obligation please send me information and free literature.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

Please send me without charge.....copies of this leaflet,
(Indicate Number Desired)

for distribution among my friends and fellow workers.

D.W.H.A.D 50 M 9-47

(May be pasted on back of postcard)

86-24416-27

Our America

By Dr. Ruth Alexander

IT IS SLOWLY DAWNING upon us that FASCISM, NAZISM (national Socialism) and COMMUNISM are the same breed of cats. All three are forms of Socialism and Marx used the terms Socialism and Communism interchangeably. Communism represents merely the FINAL MILESTONE or "terminal concept" of Socialism according to the teachings of "dialectic materialism."

For some years the SOCIALISTS have tried to dissociate themselves from the Communists and both have disclaimed any kinship with FASCISM. BUT THEY DIFFER IN DEGREE AND NAME ONLY, FOR A COMMUNIST TO CALL HIS OPPONENT A "FASCIST" AS A SMEAR WORD IS THE POT CALLING THE KETTLE BLACK.

★ ★ ★

THE WORD Fascism stems from the Latin, "fasces," meaning the bundle of rods with an ax which was symbolic of authority in ancient Rome. The Fascism of modern Rome represents the syndicalist branch of Socialism. The word syndicalism stems from the French word for trades union—"syndicat."

Syndicalism was PROLETARIAN SOCIALISM in its purest form. It was the Socialism of the working class as opposed to the Socialism of the intelligentsia, in Germany, or the Socialism of the aristocratic anarchists, in Czarist Russia. (Soviet Socialism is a combination of these latter two.)

The syndicalists shared the common creed of Socialism—that capitalism was inherently unjust and that to overthrow it was the manifest destiny of the working class.

They believed that class warfare should be "WAGED RELENTLESSLY" until a complete REVOLUTION, or overturning, of society was accomplished.

10:15AM

November 24, 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON
MR. TAMM
MR. LADD
MR. NICHOLS

Mr. David K. Niles called me with reference to the Burt Andrews' article in the Washington Post, Sunday November, 16th. He indicated that he was quiet happy that his article was published to counteract the adverse publicity which has recently come out concerning the Bureau.

I gave Mr. Niles the background concerning the Andrews' story and also advised him of the unfavorable speeches concerning the FBI given by Mr. Durr of the Federal Communications Commission in Chicago recently and the one by Mr. Henry Wallace last night.

Mr. Niles inquired as to what we are doing about publicizing the Andrews' story. I advised him that we had the article entered into the Congressional Record, and the Bureau is also having a small pamphlet published of Mr. Andrews' article combined with an editorial a few days later on the same matter. Mr. Niles requested that a group of these pamphlets be forwarded to him. I told him that I would be happy to send him a group as soon as they were available.

truly yours,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/16/83 BY

John Edgar Hoover
Director

SP1QSKJC
228303

JEH:rjp

cc Mr. Nease
Tele Rm

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DATE 5/16/83 BY SP1BCK/PC

FBI NORFOLK 228303 11-23-47

7-31 PM

JAG

DIRECTOR

U R G E N T

HENRY A. WALLACE, INFORMATION CONCERNING. AT MEETING NOVEMBER

TWENTYTHREE AT NORFOLK, VIRGINIA SPONSORED BY SCHW. AND ~~AMERICAN~~ AV

ATTENDED BY ABOUT SIXTEEN HUNDRED, HENRY A. WALLACE CRITICIZED THE FBI
FOR FURNISHING UNSOLICITED REPORTS CONCERNING AMATEUR ~~RADIO~~ RADIO
OPERATORS TO FCC CONTAINING NOTHING BUT GOSSIP AND STATED THAT THIS IS
ONLY ONE STEP FROM CENSORSHIP OF RADIO AND PRESS. HE SUGGESTED THAT
THEY READ NEW YORK HERALD-TRIBUNE OF THREE WEEKS AGO CONCERNING
THE UNDEMOCRATIC DISMISSAL OF FEDERAL EMPLOYEES. LETTER FOLLOWS.

ROBEY

END SCHW = SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE
AVC = AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE

7-33 PM OK FBI WASH DC VH

60 DEC 2-1947 R335

RECORDED

INDEXED

EX-14

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. E. A. Tamm ✓
Mr. Clegg ✓
Mr. Glavin ✓
Mr. Ladd ✓
Mr. Nichols ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Tracy ✓
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn
Mr. Nease

Ead
V
V

Cory
Car

62-71788-81
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RECORDED 162-71788-82

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

cc - Mr. Ladd

December 8, 1947

RECORDED DIRECTOR, FBI

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference is made to previous memoranda to you, the last which was dated November 15, 1947, concerning the appearance of former Vice-President Henry A. Wallace in Atlanta, Georgia at a meeting to be held at the Wheat Street Baptist Church.

Mr. Wallace appeared at the meeting in Atlanta held at the Wheat Street Baptist Church with between 3,000 and 4,000 persons in attendance. It was estimated that approximately 40% of the persons present were white with the remainder being negroes. The races were not segregated.

Mr. Wallace spoke for about an hour and a half during which time he attacked the present foreign policy of the United States and universal military training as being policies which would lead us to war. He also said that America has nothing to fear from Communism but does face a danger from those who would violate the Bill of Rights in seeking out Communists and those who brand every liberal movement as Communist inspired. He criticized Congressional Investigating Committees and the present loyalty check program as being violations of the Bill of Rights and stated that the present administration and big business are trying to undermine traditional American rights to free debate by using the cry of "red" to suppress those who do not think as they believe they should. He also said that racial segregation and racial discrimination must be eliminated.

As you were previously advised, there was the possibility of some racial disorder resulting from this meeting as segregation of the races in attendance was not going to be tolerated. However, this meeting was held without any unusual disturbances or disorder.

This data is furnished to you for the completion of your files in connection with the appearance of Mr. Wallace at Atlanta, Georgia.

CBH:wma

100-10355

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATES 1/6/83 BY SP1GSKTC
 228303

12/31/85 9145JPE/AG/RBG #248,237

89 DEC 13 1947 253

ORIGINAL COPIES FILED IN 100-10355-270

b6
b7C

Director, FBI
SAC, Atlanta

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF Class
DATE 6/16/83

Nov. 24, 1947

1872
SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE;
SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT OF FORMER VICE PRESIDENT
HENRY A. WALLACE IN ATLANTA;
INTERNAL SECURITY-C.
(Bureau file #100-10355).

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reamlet 11/19/47 concerning the speaking engagement of former Vice President HENRY A. WALLACE on November 20, 1947, in Atlanta.

Mr. WALLACE and CLARK FOREMAN, president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, arrived in Atlanta at about 9:00 A.M. on November 19, 1947, from New Orleans. Through Informant [redacted] it has been learned that they were met at the station by WILLIAM STAFFORD, head of the UPWA-CIO in Atlanta, and DONALD L. WEST, a professor at Oglethorpe University, Atlanta, and top functionary of the Communist Party in Atlanta. *OK u*

b7D

Mr. WALLACE was driven to Macon, Georgia, in the car of WILLIAM STAFFORD. CLARK FOREMAN, DONALD L. WEST, Rev. JOSEPH RABUN, and Mr. WALLACE's secretary, LEW FRANK, were also in the car. WILLIAM STAFFORD and DONALD L. WEST returned to Atlanta on the afternoon of November 19, 1947. That night Mr. WALLACE made an address at the Civic Auditorium. *OK u*

On the afternoon of November 20 WALLACE spoke briefly at a regular business meeting of the SCHW which was held in the Chamber of Commerce Building in Atlanta. He also attended a reception at Clark University (Negro) where he addressed a group of students, professors, and members of the SCHW. On the same afternoon he visited the Fulton County jail to see HORACE WHITE, a CIO textile union organizer, who in 1946 was convicted of assaulting a textile worker who crossed a picket line during a strike at Whittier Mills in Atlanta. [redacted] advised that on November 23, 1947, DONALD L. WEST told HOMER B. CHASE, organizer for district #31 of the Communist Party, that the visit to WHITE had been suggested to Mr. WALLACE while they were en route to Macon on November 19). *OK u*

b7D

The Wallace meeting in Atlanta was held at the Wheat Street Baptist Church (Negro), with between 3000 and 4000 persons present. Tickets had been sold by the SCHW at \$1.20 each for general admission and \$2.40 for reserved seats. The races were not segregated and it was

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Declassify on: OADP
5-17-83
228803

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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ON 12/31/85
248,281

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

estimated that about 40% of the persons present were white and the remainder were Negroes. On the platform with Mr. WALLACE were CLARK FOREMAN, president of the SCHW, EDMONIA GRANT, administrator of the SCHW, Rev. I. J. DOMAS, co-chairman of the meeting, A. T. WALDEN, Negro lawyer, co-chairman of the meeting, AUBREY WILLIAMS, editor of the "Southern Farmer," from Alabama, Dr. BENJAMIN J. MAYS, president of Morehouse College (Negro), Dr. FORRESTER WASHINGTON, head of the Atlanta School of Social Service (Negro), and NATHAN KATZ. The latter is active in the Ruthenberg Branch of the Communist Party in Atlanta and is a Security Index subject.

Talks were made by A. T. WALDEN, EDMONIA GRANT, AUBREY WILLIAMS, and CLARK FOREMAN. AUBREY WILLIAMS lauded the SCHW and stressed the need for funds by the organization in order that it might carry on its work. He asked for pledges or contributions and there followed a period where persons present were given an opportunity to make a pledge or donation. It was noted that Dr. ELWOOD GRANT BODDIE, Negro dentist, and Security Index subject, was one of two persons pledging \$100.00 to the SCHW.

Mr. WALLACE spoke for about an hour and a half, during which time he attacked the present foreign policy of the United States and universal military training as being policies which would lead us to war. He also said that America has nothing to fear from Communism but does face a danger from those who would violate the Bill of Rights in seeking out Communists and those who brand every liberal movement as Communist-inspired. He criticized Congressional investigating committees and the present loyalty check program as being violations of the Bill of Rights and stated that the present administration and big business are trying to undermine traditional American rights to free debate by using the cry of "red" to suppress those who do not think as they believe they should. He also said that racial segregation and racial discrimination must be eliminated.

It had previously been reported that, as set out in my letter of November 19 and my teletype of November 20, there might be serious disorders during the WALLACE meeting. However, there were no disturbances and the meeting was orderly.

According to Informant on November 21, 1947, EDMONIA GRANT told DONALD L. WEST that ticket sales for the meeting had brought in around \$2,000 and that the collections made during the meeting raised a little over \$1,000. Informant added that WEST had asked EDMONIA GRANT about the possibility of obtaining the services of BRANSON PRICE, SCHW b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

AT 100-301

organizer, as secretary for the Committee for Georgia. EDMONIA GRANT stated she thought it would be a good idea but that WEST ^{should} write a letter to BRANSON PRICE, CLARK FOREMAN, and to WEST's "brother-in-law" about securing the services of PRICE. NATHAN ROSS, Southern organizer for the Communist Party, is the brother-in-law of DONALD L. WEST. *qu*

As reported in my letter of November 19, 1947, officials of the SCHW were incensed at a column of Mr. RALPH MCGILL, Editor of the Atlanta Constitution, which appeared in that paper on the morning of November 15. Mr. MCGILL in his column mentioned the possibility of their being disorder during the WALLACE meeting, and he also made lightly veiled allegations that the SCHW was following the Communist Party line in the manner in which the WALLACE meeting had been arranged. According to on the afternoon of November 15, 1947, CLARK FOREMAN told DONALD L. WEST that he had already talked to THOMAS W. JOHNSON, an attorney in Macon, about the possibility of entering a suit for criminal libel against MCGILL and the Atlanta Constitution. FOREMAN said that a telegram and letters had been sent to the Constitution demanding a retraction of MCGILL's article and an apology. There was also contained in the letters a threat for suit for criminal libel. *TQU*

During the talks preceding the address of Mr. WALLACE on November 20, CLARK FOREMAN and others made a number of derogatory references to Mr. MCGILL and the Atlanta Constitution. It was noted that the Atlanta Constitution gave no publicity whatever to the appearance of Mr. WALLACE in Macon or Atlanta.

DBC:CM
100-301

cc: New Orleans

AT files 100-559
100-873
100-4010

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation
633 Federal Building
Louisville, Kentucky



IN REPLY, PLEASE REFER TO
FILE NO. _____

November 22, 1947

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY SLIP(S) OF
DATE 7-23-77

Director, FBI

Re: HENRY A. WALLACE

Dear Sir:

- Under the sponsorship of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, former Vice President Henry A. Wallace spoke to approximately sixteen hundred whites and negroes in the Armory at Louisville, Kentucky November 21, 1947.

During his talk, it is reported that Wallace stated that the Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission had been given "unsolicited" (I could not ascertain exactly which word was used) reports prepared by the Federal Bureau of Investigation under John Edgar Hoover on people in the entertainment field. He left the inference that you were attempting to influence the licensing of radio stations by the Federal Communications Commission through calling their attention to persons broadcasting over those stations whose ideas did not conform to your own.

He also referred to "thought police"; that is, the policing of the thoughts of the people in this country, and placed the Federal Bureau of Investigation in that category.

There was no mention made in the local press concerning these remarks, however, a great deal of space was given by the press to his talk.

I am endeavoring to obtain discreetly a complete transcript of Mr. Wallace's talk, which I will forward to the Bureau as being of possible interest.

Very truly yours,

M. W. McFarlin
Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-27-81 BY SP-2 JH/EX-109

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. E. A. Tamm	✓
Mr. Clegg	✓
Mr. Glavin	✓
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tracy	✓
Mr. Egan	✓
Mr. Gurnea	✓
Mr. Harbo	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Pennington	✓
Mr. Quinn Tamm	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

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62-71788-83

cc-101-1710
71 JAN 2 1948 R99

Director, FBI

SAC, Atlanta

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE~~

November 18, 1947

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE,
SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT OF FORMER VICE-PRESIDENT
HENRY A. WALLACE, IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
(Bureau file 100-10355)

Classified by ~~228303~~
Declassify on: ~~OADR~~

5-17-83

Remylet 10-31-47 concerning plans being made in Atlanta
for the Southern Conference for Human Welfare to sponsor a speak-
ing engagement by former Vice-President HENRY A. WALLACE on
November 20 next.

There is being transmitted herewith the column of Mr.
RALPH MCGILL, editor of the Atlanta Constitution which appeared
in that paper on the morning of November 15. It will be noted
that Mr. MCGILL mentioned the possibility of there being dis-
order during the WALLACE meeting and that he also made rather lightly
veiled allegations that the Southern Conference for Human Welfare
is following the Communist Party line in the manner in which the
WALLACE meeting has been arranged.

Through informant [REDACTED] whose identity is known to the
Bureau, it has been learned that the MCGILL column created con-
siderable consternation among the ranks of the Southern Confer-
ence for Human Welfare. *ku*

b7D

[REDACTED] advised that on the afternoon of November 15,
there was held a meeting at the home of Reverend I. J. DOMAS
who is co-chairman of the WALLACE meeting. CLARK FOREMAN,
President of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, EDMONIA
GRANT, an official of the SCHW from New Orleans, and EUDICE TONTAK,
acting secretary of the Atlanta chapter of the SCHW met with Rev-
erend DOMAS to discuss the action taken to combat the MCGILL article. *ky*

During the course of the meeting, CLARK FOREMAN talked to
DONALD L. WEST, a top functionary of the C.P. in the Atlanta Div-
ision, about the MCGILL article. They both were very vehement in
criticizing the article, agreeing that it was "yellow journalism"
of the lowest degree and "outright provocation" intended to sug-
gest that the Ku Klux Klan take action to break up the WALLACE
meeting. *ku*

According to the informant FOREMAN told DONALD L. WEST
that he had already talked to THOMAS W. JOHNSON, Attorney in Macon,
Georgia, about the possibility of entering a suit for criminal

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CN 12/16/85

9145 JFE/AG/RBG

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EX-93

53 NOV

Q.S.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
CONFIDENTIAL

ATL 100-301

libel against MCGILL and the Atlanta Constitution. FOREMAN said that a telegram and a letter had been sent to the Constitution demanding a retraction of MCGILL's article and an apology. There was also contained in the latter a threat to sue for criminal libel. *Xu*

On November 17, [] advised that Reverend I. J. DOMAS told DONALD LEE WEST that a group of prominent white and colored persons, led by negro lawyer A. T. WALDEN, had visited the office of Mayor WILLIAM B. HARTSFIELD and had advised the mayor that they hoped the reputation of Atlanta would not be blackened by any disorders on the night of the WALLACE meeting. The mayor was said to have assured the group that they need not have any concern because city officials would be prepared for any emergency. *Xu*

b7D

[] further stated that Chief of Police HERBERT JENKINS had called Reverend I. J. DOMAS and had promised to furnish all of the policemen needed to keep order at the meeting. Reverend DOMAS made an appointment to see Chief JENKINS on November 18 to discuss the matter of police protection fully. *Xu*

It was also learned through [] that ticket sales for the WALLACE meeting have been sluggish but that persons connected with the meeting are optimistic and believe that sufficient tickets will be sold by November 20 to fill the Wheat Street Baptist Church where the meeting will be held. *Xu*

b7D

100-301
DBC:aej

cc: 100-559

Enc. -1 (2)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : SAC, Norfolk

SUBJECT: HENRY A. WALLACE
INFORMATION CONCERNING

DATE: November 25, 1947

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/83 BY SP8 BSK/STJ

Retel to Bureau from Norfolk, November 23, 1947.

At a public meeting held at 3:00 p.m., on November 23, 1947, at Norfolk, Virginia, sponsored by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the American Veterans' Committee, the Tidewater Industrial Union Council - CIO, and the International Relations Club, a student organization of the Norfolk Division, College of William and Mary, HENRY A. WALLACE was the principal speaker. This meeting was opened by Dr. CLARK FOREMAN, President of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, who criticized the segregation laws of Virginia and stated that they would not accept race segregation, and also stated "if the officers of the law will not allow us to continue our meeting here we will walk into the streets and hold our meeting." It was observed that with the exception of JERRY O. GILLIAM, President of the NAACP, and a few other colored men who sat on the right-hand side of the City Auditorium, which was occupied by white people and ALICE BURKE, President, CP, USA, District 26, Reverend CHARLES C. WEBBER, President of Virginia State CIO, and a few other white people who sat on the other side of the auditorium with the Negroes, the crowd was segregated according to race.

This meeting was opened by short talks by Dr. CLARK FOREMAN; Mrs. CLIFFORD DURR of Alexandria, Vice-President of the SCHW; GEORGE ELWOOD, a known active Communist Party member who is Chairman of the Norfolk Chapter of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, active in the American Veterans' Committee, and the CIO Political Action Director for this area, as well as being Business Representative for Local 26 of the FTAAWA; and Mrs. VIVIAN CARTER HASON, a leader among Negro women who has traveled extensively in Europe including Russia.

In his speech, HENRY A. WALLACE declared that he was not a radical but was a liberal. He stated that he was frequently accused of being a radical and he was tired of good people being called Communists—that Communism does not deserve that much credit. He stated that we had nothing to fear from Communism in this country unless there would be a severe depression. He accused the United States of following the pattern of the early Hitler era and said the Un-American Committee is a key part of the gigantic conspiracy against the American people. Mr. WALLACE mentioned the FBI and stated that Mr. HOOVER had said that he would not dignify a remark of Mr. WALLACE's even by a denial. He went on to state, "I wonder if Mr. HOOVER will comment on this." He further stated the FBI is furnishing unsolicited reports to the FCC containing nothing but gossip about the activities of private radio operators. He stated this information had come to him directly from Mr. DURR, employed by the FCC, who is the husband of Mrs. VIRGINIA DURR, Vice-President of the SCHW. He had previously indicated that Mrs. DURR's brother-in-law, whose name was not mentioned, was a member of the Supreme Court. Mr. WALLACE stated that the next step is the censorship of the radio and the press.

INDEXED

62-71788-85

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Letter to Director, FBI
Re: HENRY A. WALLACE
INFORMATION CONCERNING
November 25, 1947

In connection with FBI reports, Mr. WALLACE stated that he had been in the Government and has read these reports and they contained nothing but gossip, and you cannot find out where the gossip originated as the reports reflect that they came from [] and you cannot find out who that is. He further stated that the next thing they will be inquiring as to what your neighbor was doing if he comes in as late as 11:00 in the evening. He criticized President TRUMAN's loyalty order and the discharge of State Department employees dismissed by Secretary MARSHALL without hearings and without the presentation of charges, and stated that if they wanted to read about the way employees are being dismissed they should read the "New York Herald Tribune" of about three weeks ago concerning an employee of the State Department who was dismissed and no reasons whatsoever given for his dismissal. Mr. WALLACE advocated price controls and stated that he was glad the President had again changed his mind and now agrees with him that controls democratically legislated are necessary. WALLACE spoke harshly against universal military training.

b7D

The "Norfolk Virginian Pilot" for Monday morning, November 24, 1947, in an article appearing on the back page, reflected substantially the information set forth above with the exception that no mention was made of WALLACE's remarks concerning the FBI.

The above meeting was attended by approximately 1,640 persons, 1,440 who paid admission of 99 cents each. A collection was also taken up during this meeting for the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and it was claimed that WALLACE was donating his time for these speeches. The following known active Communist leaders in this area were observed in attendance at this meeting:

ALICE BURKE, President, District 26, CP, USA, who arrived in Norfolk just prior to the meeting and departed shortly thereafter;
IRENE WHITLEDGE, Chairman, Norfolk Section;
JOE BARON, Chairman, Ocean View Section;
STEVE PAUKOVITS, Co-chairman, Brambleton Section;
FANNIE SPRATLEY, Chairman, Newport News Section;
SANFORD BERLIN, known member;
GEORGE ELWOOD, known member.

Through Confidential Informant [] it was ascertained that IRENE WHITLEDGE, JOSEPH BARON, FANNIE SPRATLEY, GEORGE ELWOOD, and STEVE PAUKOVITS were active in passing out leaflets and selling tickets for WALLACE's appearance in Norfolk.

b7D

The "Norfolk Virginian Pilot" also reflected that WALLACE had spoken to the faculty and student body at Hampton Institute, a Negro college at Hampton, Virginia, prior to his address in Norfolk.

MES, JSS:lab
62-0

Letter to Director, FBI
Re: HENRY A. WALLACE
INFORMATION CONCERNING
November 25, 1947

cc: Richmond
Norfolk File 100-215
Norfolk File 100-4260

AIR MAIL - SPECIAL DELIVERY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : SAC, Norfolk

SUBJECT: HENRY A. WALLACE

CLASSIFIED INFORMATION CONCERNING

BY DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE (DRC)

DATE: 4-8-87

DATE: December 1947

3/21/86
Classified by 3042 PUL/PB
Declassify on: OADR
appeal 93-1400
1422
5-17-83
Declassify on: OADR

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

Re letter to Bureau from Norfolk, dated 11-23-47
and letter from Norfolk, dated 11-25-47.

Mr. CALVIN H. DALBY, Director of Public Safety, Norfolk, Virginia, advised that a Mrs. SHOLES, believed to be Mrs. F. M. SHOLES, Jr., 1329 West 38th St., Secretary of The Norfolk Housewife's League, home phone number 49072, contacted Mr. DALBY by telephone on November 24, 1947, at which time she criticized the Norfolk Authorities concerning their not enforcing strictly the race segregation laws at WALLACE's speech in the city auditorium, and stated that a Mrs. HOLLAND, President of the Norfolk Housewife's League, who was supposed to attend a dinner for WALLACE on Sunday night, November 23, 1947, was unable to attend and therefore requested Mrs. SHOLES to go in her place. Mrs. SHOLES stated that this dinner was held at the Commodore Restaurant at Ocean View, Virginia, and that the shades were pulled and the doors locked. She stated that the group there consisted of about half negroes, and that most of this group did considerable drinking, and numerous speeches were given criticizing many public officials in the Federal, State, and City of Norfolk Government.

~~DEFERRED RECORDING~~

According to Mrs. SHOLES, HENRY A. WALLACE, during his talk at this closed dinner, referred to General SMEDLEY BUTLER, and stated that when BUTLER had planned to take over the Government, FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT had found out about these plans and had "nipped them in the bud". Mr. DALBY stated that, according to Mrs. SHOLES, HENRY A. WALLACE followed the above remark by stating "now my friends we must get so well organized that, when the time comes, we will be able to take over." Mr. DALBY asked Mrs. SHOLES if the above-mentioned remark referred to taking over by legitimate elections or by force. Mrs. SHOLES stated that she did not know, but it was her impression that it was implied that they would take over any way they could.

It should be noted that the Commodore Restaurant is managed by JIMMY AUGUSTINE, and that ALICE BURKE, DAVE BENNETT, and JOSEPH BARON were recently observed going to the Commodore Restaurant and the Candlelight Supper Club, which is also operated by JIMMY AUGUSTINE and is above the restaurant.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director, FBI
Re: Henry A. Wallace
December 8, 1947

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~~Confidential~~ Informant [] advised that he attended the dinner for HENRY A. WALLACE, given at the Commodore Restaurant on November 23, 1947. He advised that this dinner was paid for by Dr. DUDLEY SCOOPER, by what was supposed to be an anonymous contribution. He stated that Dr. CLARK FOREMAN spoke for a few minutes at this meeting, and that he introduced the following speakers:

WILLIAM A. LAWRENCE, recently elected to the Nansemond County Board of Supervisors.

GEORGE ELWOOD, a known Communist Party member.

A Rabbi, whose name the informant did not recall (believed to be a Rabbi, named ARIEL GOLDBERG).

Professor LADD, Instructor at William and Mary Extension, Norfolk, Virginia.

A woman, named PRICE, who came to Norfolk with the WALLACE party, and is active in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

DISBROW, a teacher at William and Mary Extension.

SANFORD BERLIN, a known Communist Party member, who is at the present a student at William and Mary.

This informant stated that all of these speeches were critical in nature, and that he could not recall anything constructive that was said. He advised that he did not recall General BUTLER's name being mentioned and that he did not recall any remarks, which he interpreted to indicate any overthrow of the U.S. Government.

According to this informant, this meeting was attended by Mr. and Mrs. JOSEPH E. BARON, active Communist Party

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director, FBI
Re: Henry A. Wallace
December 8, 1947

members, and that JOSEPH BARON was keeping the books and figuring up the finances concerning WALLACE's speech in Norfolk. The informant stated that at the speech, given in the afternoon of November 23, 1947, about 14,000 tickets at \$.99 each were sold, and that at the collection taken up during the meeting over \$1,000.00 was obtained. ~~C~~

No efforts is being made to interview Mrs. SHOLES, who furnished information to Mr. DALBY concerning this meeting.

MES:jsh
62-0

cc: 100-4307
100-4357
100-4260
100-3454

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OF SERVICE

s is a full-rate telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

STEAM UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS	
DL	Day Letter
NL	Night Letter
LC	Deferred Cable
NLT	Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram	

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

☐ NL PD=LOSANGELES CALIF 11

WALTER WINCHELL= DAILY MIRROR NYK

CARE JERGENS LOTION NYK=

1948 JAN 12 AM 1 24 b7D

7007 11/12/48

INVESTIGATE A N~~X~~SPANEL INTERNATIONAL LATEX CORPORATION IN
CONNECTION WITH WALLACE=

WILLIAM G MAHU 901 FOURTH AVE LOS ANGELES 6 CALIFORNIA.

HENRY A WALLACE

RECORDED EX-49

INDEXED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/11/83 BY SP/BSKJR

62-71788-87

JAN 20 1948

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THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

DIRECTOR, FBI

February 11, 1948

SAC, Cincinnati

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
DISTRICT #6, CINCINNATI DIVISION
POLITICAL ACTIVITIES
INTERNAL SECURITY - C.
Bureau file #100-3-72

For your information there is being enclosed herewith a copy of the complete text of the speech delivered by HENRY A. WALLACE on February 1, 1948, at Central High School, Columbus, Ohio, as found in the Ohio State News dated February 7, 1948.

Enclosure
RHH:wml
100-8227

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/17/83 BY SP1 RSG/STO
228303

ENCL.

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EX-31

62-71788-88
FEB 10 1948

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 100-3-72-3045-25

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/16/13 BY 228303

ENCLOSURE

62-71788-88

Complete Text Of Henry Wallace's Speech At Columbus

The following is the complete text of a speech delivered by Henry A. Wallace, independent candidate for U. S. President, Sunday, Feb. 1, at Central High School, Columbus, Ohio:

I have come here to talk politics—practical politics.

There has been a lot of talk lately about what is and what is not practical in politics. Since some of this talk has involved my name I have decided to air my thoughts on the subject.

I decided that this was a good place to do it because—and please don't feel insulted—because this is an assembly of highly "impractical" politicians.

I know you are "impractical," because I have the evidence. I have clippings—newspapers clippings—evidence in black and white.

Most of you are here, I think, because you support the idea of an independent candidacy and the newspapers say that anyone who supports the independent ticket is impractical. Furthermore, it is quite obvious that you here have never accepted bribes for the performance of public services; that you have never sold your votes; and that you believe that you believe in democracy, a system which the self-accepted practical men insist is just schoolboy nonsense.

Even so, you haven't a thing on me.

I can beat the most impractical one among you by at least 100 clippings to one.

My secretary has a file drawer full of clippings—real testimonials from the most celebrated political analysts. These astute gentlemen have decided that I am lacking in the essential attributes of a practical politician. I am not of the party, they find, disturbed. From long observation have concluded that the essential properties to win their seal of approval are a taste for Bourbon whiskey and Bourbon philosophy.

So as one impractical politician to some other, I want to talk practical politics.

First off, I think we should examine this word "politics."

To the professional practitioner of this art, politics consists of climbing aboard what has come to be known as "the gravy train." If you can get into office against some other politician, then you are eligible for certain payments. This is the gravy.

The stories of American political machines and their corruption have filled tons of thousands of newspaper pages, dozens of books, and they have been told only in part.

Yes, to the professionals, politics is strictly business, and we have been told many times what business is—"business is business."

When it has suited their purposes, the newspapers have played up corruption. They have not done any thorough, searching exhaustive job to show real roots of corruption. What they have managed is to give millions of citizens a thorough distaste for the very word "politics."

The average citizen, after reading an expose of political corruption or suffering some personally bitter experience because of political corruption, is disgusted with the politicians who are offering.

If he can master enough energy to get to the polls, he votes another group into office. Sometimes for his effort he gets a decent, though temporary, reform administration but generally he finds that he has only substituted one donkey for another donkey, or a donkey for a donkey, or an elephant for another elephant. When he finds that he has done little more than alter the balance in the menagerie and that things haven't really improved, he gets pretty sour.

This is not only highly discouraging to the individual—it is very dangerous to the community and the country.

Some three or four years ago one of the public opinion outfits took a poll. While I don't have too much confidence in such polls in general, they mean something. This poll showed that an overwhelming percentage of parents didn't want their children to get involved in politics. It strikes me as tragically sad that a far greater number of parents

approve compulsory military training than approve of politics. This is dangerous.

Politics is a matter of life or death, peace or war, bread and butter or starvation.

Politics determine whether our people will buy enough groceries to feed the children; whether the sale of crops will bring enough for shoes and a spare part for the tractor; whether the fees charged by the doctor and dentist will be worth as much when he collects them as when he first sent the bill.

Politics in good measure determine what kind of lives we lead. Politics determine the kind of education we get, the value of our dollars, the amount of taxes we pay, the stability of our employment, and whether we can enjoy our old age free from want and fear. In truth politics can determine how well and how long we live.

MANY GOOD AMERICANS say that decent people must remain aloof from politics. It is a notion which the press cultivates. Men or women who are "above politics"—partisan politics—are shown a reverence which dissuades other capable people from soiling their hands in the job of making democracy work.

For my part, I can think of no more practical activity for the citizen than political participation to the fullest measure that his time and resources permit.

Many people who are so absorbed in their own struggles for security—personal security and family security—fail to understand the direct relationship of politics to their personal welfare. The huge industrialists and financiers understand. They never let up on the political front. They know that a functioning democracy would greatly curb their excesses.

There are workers and farmers and independent businessmen who will tell you, as they have told me, that they just don't have time for politics. These are the people who must be made to understand that using their find time for politics they are only chasing rainbows in their pursuit of security.

Some of them will tell that they have savings accounts and war bonds and life insurance and that they are building personal security. But while they have worked hard and long for their savings, huge financial and industrial interests have used politics to reduce the value of those savings.

You can and must spell this story for many of your neighbors. Show them with facts and figures how their political indifference has cost them hard-earned cash. Spell out for them just how much cash—real cash—they can save with a little thoughtful political action.

Take me, man next door who had \$2000 in his savings account in June of 1946. Since then prices have soared so high that he has not been able to add to his account but he has felt some satisfaction in having that \$2000 set aside for a rainy day. If he is one of the politically indifferent citizens he may not realize that since June, 1946 that savings account has dwindled. The purchasing value of his two thousand 1946 dollars has shrunk to \$1600. He has had his security cut by 20 percent.

This change is a result of political action—political action by big business.

The Federal government has been used by the big business to profit from inflation—by the huge monopoly interests—to confiscate a large portion of individual savings in the United States. This is taxation without recognition. If the proposed tax on personal savings they would commit political suicide. They have achieved quiet by the same objective by unleashing a little mounting inflation.

The men who plan the propaganda campaigns about keeping government out of business make a good business out of government.

Their onslaught against the great mass of American workers, farmers, and independent businessmen began in 1945 when the Administration removed its controls over industrial operations. Then Wall Street, operating through its bi-partisan coalition in Congress, managed to destroy price controls, which were and are desperately needed to control inflation.

I can't think of a more important, more practical job in this country of ours, if it is to continue to be a democracy—than



HENRY A. WALLACE

to restore the fair name of "politics."

I think of it as a practical job, because the bad reputation of the word "politics" has bred millions of cynical, lethargic, and inactive citizens. If we don't take action to restore their faith in the democratic process, then democracy won't survive. After what we call the democratic process has no meaning without politics.

Some self-proclaimed practical men and women, who agree that the fullest participation in politics is desirable, disagree with the idea of a new party.

One of these people gave me a personal lecture, neatly typewritten, which declared that those of us who are building a new party are too rigid, too inflexible. He said, quite rightly, that "if there is one thing history illustrates it is that compromise and willingness to fight for limited advances are essential to progress."

What this gentleman overlooks is that today there is no "will- ingness to fight" for even "limited advances" on the part of either major party. The choice they offer is between degrees of retreat, degrees of reaction, not degrees of progress and advancement.

For a dozen years I was a member of an administration which fought for progressive politics and was forced time and time again to compromise with the organized strength of reaction. But we had leadership which fought for progress and used its bargaining power to bring advancements for the people when it was forced to compromise.

The compromises of the past two years represent a series of retreats.

The Wagner Labor Relations Act has been nullified by the Taft-Hartley law, which the Administration has pledged to administer without any demand for repeal.

The social security and unemployment compensation benefits established by New Deal laws have been reduced 20 percent in real value since June 1946.

The all-too-limited advancements in economic opportunity and towards full justice for the Negro people made during the thirties and in wartime have stopped.

Successful compromise—compromise resulting in advancement—requires bargaining power.

In the New Deal administration the people had an instrument which gave them bargaining power. Those administrations were dedicated to serving the general welfare. They were forced to compromise with organized reaction, but organized reaction was outside. Today it is those who are dedicated to serving the general welfare who are outside and they are virtually powerless. Some 170 military men and an almost incalculable number of representatives of big business have moved into key positions in Washington since the end of the war.

SOME WALL STREET liberals and practical liberals are counseling their listeners against joining a new political party—a new party—to do battle against the militarized Wall Street—dominated administration in Washington.

They say the times are not propitious. They admit to a certain alarm over the administration's kowtow to financiers.

They say they don't like the encroachments on civil liberties. Some of them even admit to a skepticism about the "get tough"

foreign policy.

But with a very sensitive stethoscope, unknown to medical science, they listen long and hard and find "vibrant impulses" in the present administration. From this they conclude that it is wrong to organize effective opposition and that it is impractical to do so.

I imagine that there were good people, self-styled practical people in the Nazi-occupied countries during the war who counseled against the formation of a resistance movement. But the impractical Maquis in France and partisans in Yugoslavia and the guerrillas in a dozen other countries went ahead just the same. Against this advice they split with the "practical liberals" and organized for action.

They achieved—these impractical men and women—some very practical results.

So shall we.

As we organize against on-rushing fascism, we are fortunate that we can still build above-ground. We shall heed the practical counsel which advises that the formation of a new party must wait on a severe economic crisis, a depression, a time when more people will be aroused.

We are not waiting to capitalize on catastrophe; we are working to avoid catastrophe.

Some of these have attacked the movement for a new party are men and women with records of "liberalism." They say they agree with our objectives but only question our approach.

It is curious that none of these critics has offered in the past—not offered in the past—the method for combating the political dominance of Wall Street and the military.

I think of them as the most impractical people of all. Rather than reserving judgment, they have attacked the new party progressives and thrown away their own bargaining power as liberal leaders. They have, indeed, encouraged an Administration of which they pretend to be critical. This "practical" judgment amounts to the unwarranted conclusion that the machine democracy is corroded and corrupted beyond repair.

We can't accept that judgment.

As you encounter these critics, I suggest that you ask them for their practical alternatives to the course we are set upon.

Ask them for their practical plans to give a people a chance to vote for policies of peace.

Ask them for their practical plans to restore confidence in the democratic process.

Ask them for their plans which could bring out a sufficiently large vote to elect a progressive Congress.

Ask them for their practical plans to combat the big city machines and the southern reactionaries in the Democratic Party.

Ask them for a better way to demonstrate to the people of the world that this nation is not unambiguously committed to a policy of Generalissimo's cents out of each tax dollar for war of preparation for war.

These are the questions we had to ask ourselves before we decided on the course we have taken. The answer was clear. The bargaining power of the people can be restored by a new party, speaking a language politicians understand, the language of votes.

I have spent this time discussing the practicality of our criticism because it is a matter of importance to all of us as we work to build our movement.

MANY PEOPLE who have built an immunity to other labels—who are not troubled by the red-baiting and smearing, because they know their own consciences are troubled by this word "impractical."

Tell them that there is nothing practical about surrender to war and depression.

Tell them that there is nothing practical about suicide. Assume them that the only way to make democracy work is to preserve the meaning of the ballot—a chance for the voter to have a legitimate choice between programs, not a choice restricted to personalities and language.

Convince them that we need not limit our choices between evils, that we have a right—and a chance—to vote for the greatest good for the greatest number.

In this discussion of practical politics, I think it is important

for me to touch on the single, most practical and despicable political tactic of those who oppose us—the tactic of red-baiting.

This is the tactic used by all of our opponents. It is used by the Communist Party, by the Republicans, by the Democrats. It is used by some independent intellectuals who write long dissertations for newspapers and magazines.

It is the single most effective political weapon in the country today and its effectiveness is a measurement of a political immaturity which we must conquer, if democracy is to live.

With many millions of Americans already victimized by anti-Communist propaganda, we cannot lightly dismiss the question of red-baiting.

Blind, fearful responses to the words "Red," "Communist," and "Russia" are actually the greatest menace to our freedom. The conditioned responses to the word "Communist" which hysterical propaganda brings forth in people who have no real knowledge of the actual philosophy and practices of the Communists, is the greatest asset of the reactionaries.

Red-baiting has paid—and is paying—great dividends. While masses of people have been distracted by carefully planned red menaces, the reactionaries have taken control of the government, inflation has continued its spiral upwards, and our major social and economical problems have intensified.

In arguing that any large section of the population of the most powerful nation in the world should tremble at a word, a very intelligent comment on this lamentable state of affairs was made at a United Nations committee meeting on freedom of the press by Professor Zechariah Chafee of the Harvard Law School. Professor Chafee was debating with the Russian representative when he said: "I have got to spend a good deal of time trying to persuade people to allow Communism to be put into print and to be put in oral discussion, and even to be discussed in educational institutions."

Professor Chafee might have added that he had been very successful. There aren't many American schools or publications where Communism is intelligently discussed.

Intelligent opposition to Communist proposals is not possible because the discussion of such proposals is limited by fear.

Intelligent opposition is impossible when Communism is presented in the form of inflammatory anti-Communist slogans, grossly distorted facts and caricatures of persons. Personally, I am sick and tired of having the Communists receive credit for every progressive idea. And that is the end result of the kind of red-baiting campaigns we have had here in the United States.

In the campaign ahead, we shall see the most intensive use of red-baiting in all history, with the possible exception of Adolf Hitler's use of this political weapon.

It will be used against us, because we are Communists, but because we are attacking entrenched interests; because we believe that it is possible to make peace with Russia; and because we shall refuse to engage in the indiscriminate red-baiting which breeds fear in place of understanding.

To stop the red-baiting which will be directed at us, we would have to parrot the most extreme statements of our opponents. Further than that, we would have to accept the idea that war Russians refuse to accept the Wall Street approach to world problems. This we shall not do.

The most frequent charge made against the American Communists is that they advocate the violent overthrow of the government of the United States. I have not seen evidence to substantiate the charge, and so I find a Supreme Court decision that this conclusion is unwarranted. But if this is the Communist program, it is most certainly not ours. The simple, unmistakable fact is that we are organizing a new political party to advance our program for peace and abundance.

ANY COMMUNISTS who support the independent ticket will be supporting our program, not the Communist program. I am



PASTOR AT DINNER. — Rev. R. F. Hairston Jr., youngest pastor in Columbus, his wife and children were guests at dinner last Sunday prepared by Mrs. Louzetta Bosley of 1484 Dell Ave. Other guests included Rev. and Mrs. Shellie Dowdy and his two sons, Mrs. Viola Ross, Mrs. Hazel Miller, Mrs. Mattie Jefferson and Mrs. Annie Morrison. —West Photo.



AKRON MAN HONORED. — Prominent figures from all over Ohio gathered in Akron last week to pay tribute to Attorney Luther R. Johnson. The young lawyer had recently been appointed assistant law director for the City of Akron. He is the first Negro to hold the post. Pictured above are, in the usual order, Paul Shearer, Ohio CIO-PAC representative; Jean Murrell Capers, assistant city prosecutor of Cleveland; Attorney Howard Fort, formerly of Columbus, and Johnson.

Photos In The NEWS



NEWLY ELECTED. — Les Shaw is shown receiving congratulations from retiring basileus Curtis Parker at annual election ceremonies held last week by the Iota Psi Chapter of the Omega Psi Phi Fraternity in Columbus. Other officers elected were John Pullins, vice basileus; Samuel Smeak, keeper of records and seals; Edward Martin, keeper of finance; Joseph Coleman, fraternity editor; Leonard Napper, keeper of peace, and John Francis, chaplain.



SHOW SPONSORS. — The Columbus Victory Matrons Club sponsored their annual "Rhumboogie Supper Club" show last Saturday night at the Spring St. YMCA. Members of the group are pictured above shortly before they went to work decorating for the occasion. Standing in the usual order are Mrs. Evelyn Leon, Mrs. Camille Williams, Mrs. Mae Bentley, Mrs. Estelle Giles, Mrs. Eleanor Carter, Mrs. Julia Brooks and Bertha May. Seated are Telitha Williams, Lila Mae Smith, Mary Reynolds and Harriet Dickerson. The two young ladies squatting in foreground are Clarice Smith and Sue Kent. — Photo By Chester Gray.

Henry Wallace Speech Continued From Page 14

not a Communist or Socialist or Marxist of any description, but I find nothing criminal in the advocacy of differing economic and social ideas, however much I may differ with them. A strong, vital democracy cannot limit the flow of ideas. It need have no fear of ideas.

We shall not be provoked into mimicking our opponents or into engendering blind hatred. I urge all the candidates for public office, including Mr. Truman, to join me in the following pledge:

"I shall not knowingly accept the support of any individual or group advocating the limitation of democratic action for any other individual or group; nor the support of any individual or group which would restrict the civil liberties of others for reasons of race, color or creed; nor the support of any individual or group advocating the violent overthrow of the government of the United States."

Candidates who support the Taft-Hartley Act and other measures to curb the legitimate, democratic political actions of trade unions cannot

take this pledge.

Candidates who accept the support of parties or individuals who advocate "white supremacy" cannot take this pledge.

Candidates who would limit the free flow of ideas in this democracy through loyalty orders, intimidating devices such as the un-American Committee, and legislative proposals to outlaw groups seeking places on the ballot, cannot take this pledge.

And candidates who cannot take the pledge should not go unchallenged. If they use the words "democracy" and "freedom" and "justice" in the course of campaign oratory.

In discussing this question of practical politics I want to warn you against discouragement. Some of you may feel discouraged that we do not receive open, vocal support from many of the prominent people—the artists, actors, businessmen, politicians and even trade union leaders—you have had reason to expect in our camp.

Many of these people have spoken to me and have privately pledged their support

of carrying the campaign will, I am convinced, find your reward in the election returns next November.

Some of you here in Ohio have expressed considerable concern as to whether we shall have an independent candidacy to present to the voters. You are worried about an unclear election law. While I am fully aware that reaction's favorite son, Robert Taft, has a commanding voice in this state, and while I am fully aware that the Republican and Democratic bosses of the city of Cleveland are law partners, I have confidence that the courts of justice of the state of Ohio will not let an ambiguous election law deprive the people of an opportunity to vote for an independent candidate.

There is great and difficult and spiritually rewarding work to do in the months ahead. I urge your continued courage as you face the task, and I pledge you my every bit of strength as we fight together for the world of peace and plenty we know is possible.

Sandy Ray To Address NAACP Kickoff Meeting

The 1948 membership drive of the Columbus NAACP will kick-off with a bang Feb. 22, at Second Baptist Church.

Speaker for the occasion is Rev. Sandy Ray, now of Brooklyn, N. Y. Residents of Columbus will remember him as pastor of Shiloh Baptist Church and a former member of the Ohio legislature.

Rev. James Parrish, pastor of Shiloh Baptist Church, will be general chairman of the drive this year, with Edward L. Nix as vice chairman.

Man Removed From Bus

Marion Smith, 22, of London, was removed to Mt. Carmel Hospital during the week when he became ill while riding a Great Lakes Greyhound bus in downtown Columbus.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MAT:HS
100-0

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: February 7, 1948

FROM : GUY HOTTEL, SAC WASHINGTON FIELD DIVISION

SUBJECT: INFORMATION CONCERNING ALLEGED
INVESTIGATION ACTIVITIES OF HENRY
WALLACE SUPPORTERS BY METROPOLITAN
POLICE DEPARTMENT

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE~~

228303
5-17-83
200103130

Declassify on: OADR

For the information of the Bureau there is set forth hereafter a summary of a conversation between DON ROTHENBERG, local Communist presently connected with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and SELMA REIN, wife of DAVID REIN who was of counsel in the recent defense of GERHARDT EISLER. SELMA REIN is very active in Communist front organization activity in this district in her own right. (u)

On February 4, 1948, the Washington Daily news carried an article captioned "DC Cops Probing Wallace Supporters". This article indicated members of Lt. HARRY C. BLACKMAN's Special Investigations Squad which has probed questionable gatherings and organizations in the past will probe into the political leanings of everyone attending recent organizing meetings of HENRY WALLACE supporters here. It was indicated investigation will include PCA members and also such groups as Georgetown Progressive Citizens Association.

Upon the evening of February 4th Confidential Informant [REDACTED] advised that DON ROTH contacted SELMA REIN discussing the above article and SELMA commented ERIC SEVEREID had indicated on the air that the Police Department had disclaimed it. SELMA stated she wanted the matter called to the attention of the National Lawyers Guild and felt that members of the Bar should go down in a delegation. She also wondered whether the possibility existed of interesting the District Bar Association. (u)

ROTH stated "we" contacted WALLACE in New York and he has put out a statement through ELMER BENSON in the form of a telegram to TRUMAN asking "What the Hell is this". ROTH stated it was a very good statement and he also almost said it would appear in the news the following day. ROTH added a number of people had suggested that they ask the Consumer Protection Committee if they would have a delegation of consumers see the Commissioners and the Police Commissioner and find out whether it is subversive to oppose the high cost of living and then secure a group of organizations like the Southern Conference and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to find out whether it is subversive to oppose racial discrimination. (u)

PROPRIETARY AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF [REDACTED]
6/16/83 or

b7D

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62 FEB 25 1948

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Letter to Director, FBI
WFO 100-0

SELMA who is a member of the Consumer Protection Committee stated she would have to speak to some of the people on the Steering Committee. SELMA advanced a further idea that when people testify on Home Rule (in the District of Columbia) they could bring up this little subversive list again making reference to the files of the Police Subversive Squad. ROTHENBERG commented that CLARK FOREMAN will do this for us. SELMA indicated she would see what she could do on the Consumer end and also endeavor to get the Lawyers Guild into action on it. (u)

ROTHENBERG said the News did this on purpose just to expose it. He stated he has a contact on The News who guarantees him that they intend to fight it. ROTHENBERG said "unless Scripps Howard really puts the screws on it we can have one hell of a good time." (u)

On the following day February 5th the Daily News carried another news item reflecting that ELMER A. BENSON, Chairman of the Wallace for President Committee had stated today that he has asked President TRUMAN to investigate the intimidating procedure of the Washington Police who have planned a check of local Wallace backers for Communist activities.

Copies of both news articles are enclosed herewith for further information of the Bureau.

End.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Probe of Wallaceites Protested to Truman

Elmer A. Benson, chairman of the National Wallace for President Committee, today said he has asked President Truman to investigate the "intimidating procedure" of Washington police who have planned a check of local Wallace backers for Communist activities.

Mr. Benson wired the President that such an investigation, revealed yesterday in The News, "means that the equivalent of a Gestapo is now policing the capital of our nation. . . .

"We expect that you will demand of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia and the Senate District Committee an immediate investigation of this intimidating procedure and its threat to fundamental civil liberties."

Police Chief Robert J. Barrett late yesterday declared he has had nothing to do with the plan to investigate local Wallace supporters.

NO AUTHORITY

Maj. Barrett said no one has authority to make such an investigation and he did not know one was planned.

"I'd like to find anyone who is making such an investigation," he said.

Maj. Barrett said he called a conference of detective bureau heads yesterday immediately after reading in The News that an investigation was planned by Lieut. Harry Blackman's special investigations squad.

He said he met with Lieut. Blackman, Inspector Floyd Truscott, acting detective officer and Detective Bureau chief, and Capt. Robert Bryant, acting detective chief. He said they told him they had made no announcement about the investigation.

FILE EXISTS

The police chief did admit that police "have had a file since before the war." In the file are lists of questionable gatherings and groups, persons attending their meetings and speakers at meetings.

On the list of speakers, it is understood, are the names of the late President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Mrs. Roosevelt, former Police Chief Ernest W. Brown, and several members of Congress, in addition to local ministers, business men and labor leaders and other respectable citizens.

Maj. Barrett said he was "embarrassed" to read in The News that members of his department were investigating ministers and business men.

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FEB 10 1960

D. C. Cops Probing *News 7/4/48* Wallace Supporters

Washington police are planning to investigate local supporters of Henry Wallace for Communist activities, The News learned today.

Members of Lieut. Harry C. Blackman's special investigation squad, who have checked all "questionable" gatherings and organizations here since before the war, will probe into the political leanings of everyone attending recent organizing meetings of Wallace supporters here.

Their investigation will include local members of Progressive Citizens of America, one of the principal national organizations backing the former Vice-President and Cabinet officer for President. They also will look into such groups as Georgetown Progressive Citizens Association, it was said.

Police have devoted considerable time in recent months to their "red" list, gathering names of people attending meetings—including persons who rally to protest the high cost of living or racial discrimination.

The list includes the names of prominent Washington ministers, businessmen, labor leaders, public officials and other respectable citizens, many of whom have traditionally conservative political backgrounds.

Names of speakers at "subversive" meetings and persons attending the meetings—with copies of speeches—are in the file.

Police use the file to check the "loyalty" of potential employees for public utilities and Civil Service jobs. Tho it is not open to the public, employers—in most cases—may check the names of prospective employees against information in the police loyalty file.

The "red" list also is open to the FBI.

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62-71788-89
19 FEB 10 1948

TD-3

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 7/71 1948

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✓ Mr. E. A. Tamm	Mr. Rogers
Mr. Clegg	Mr. Duke
Mr. Glavin	Mr. Feeney
Mr. Harbo	Mr. Meyers
✓ Mr. Ladd	Mr. Page
✓ Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	Mr. Carlson
Mr. Tracy	Mr. Egan
Miss Gandy	Mr. Gurnea
Mr. McGuire	Mr. Long
Mr. Mohr	Mr. McIntire
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H. H. CLEGG
Room 5256, Ext. 484

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hd

WALLACE ?

HOW ABOUT — PEACE ?

LET'S FACE FACTS!

We have three alternatives:

1. Immediate war.
2. An armaments race
3. Peace thru a REAL United Nations and International Cooperation.

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PROSPERITY ?

1. Prices — roll them back and restore price control.
2. Jobs — full employment and raise the minimum wage.
3. Housing — pass the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Act for a long range low cost housing program.

CIVIL RIGHTS ?

1. Racial discrimination — pass the anti-lynch law and restore the F.E.P.C.
2. Freedom of thought — abolish the un-American Activities Committee.
3. Restore the Rights of Labor — repeal the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law.

YOU ARE INVITED TO A —

MEETING

COME, LISTEN, EXPRESS YOUR OPINION.

PLACE —

McKEE'S RESTAURANT, 29th and G St., N.W.

TIME —

8:30 P.M., TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1948. 62-71788

SPEAKERS: Martin Pepper — Vice President of the National Lawyer's Guild.
Don Rothenberg — G.W.U. Alumnus; Director of Organization, Wash. 1948
Comm. Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

277 STUDENTS FOR WALLACE

On the Record

Wallace's 'Gideon's Army' Has Started To Confuse America on Soviet Issues

By Dorothy Thompson

"We have assembled a Gideon's army," said Henry Wallace.

Mr. Wallace's reference to the Biblical story was not inappropriate.

Gideon gave each of his 300 unarmed men a trumpet, a torch, a clay vessel. On signal, in darkness, the blare of the trumpets, flare of the torches, and smashing of the vessels deceived the Midianites into the illusion they were being attacked by immense hosts. In the chaos that



Dorothy Thompson.

ensued, Midianites slaughtered each other and Gideon's handful seized victory.

Mr. Wallace's brain-trusters hope for a similar outcome—a campaign which will confuse all issues, until in the end nobody will know who's who or what's what.

He made a good start. Like all demagogues, he put up a straw man to excite fears—the anonymous "evil" men—Democrats, Republicans, "monopolists," and everybody else except Mr. Wallace and his backers. He promised the moon without coming to grips with a single problem. Every one wants peace and prosperity, and at the moment the United States has both. It also has inflation; a world in the doldrums which contributes to it, and fear of war, since civil wars already rage in many parts of the globe. But Mr. Wallace has the cure. What? Elect Mr. Wallace.

Has Program of Words.

What does he offer? Well, a "youth" program "for abundance and security." But what program? "We can prevent a depression if only we organize for peace in the same comprehensive way we organize for war." What does that mean? In war you have conscription of manpower, restrictions on consumption, priorities on materials, immense bureaucracies, forced savings and gigantic deficits endured because there is an external enemy and all desires are subservient to victory. You cannot organize for peace as you organize for war because peace and war are antitheses.

The part of Mr. Wallace's speech dealing with Russia might have been written in the Daily Worker.

We—not the Soviets—have partitioned Europe.

We—not the Soviets—are war-makers.

We—not the Soviets—have balked international control of atomic energy.

There is, of course, a mild rebuke to the Soviets. They should "restrain their extremists." What ex-

tremists? Is Premier Stalin not a Bolshevik? Or Mr. Molotov? Or Mr. Vishinsky—prosecutor of the purges? And does Bolshevism mean peace? Do Communists, "like the Quakers and Methodists," as Mr. Wallace said in Milwaukee, "want peace?" Here are a few statements:

"The Communist International has declared decisive war against the entire bourgeois world."

"The fundamental principle of the Third International is the recognition of * * * Soviet power."

"Victory cannot be achieved by the policy of folded arms. The masses must resort to armed uprising."

"Parliamentarianism is a form of the bourgeois state. The task of the proletariat consists in blowing up the whole machinery and all parliamentary institutions."

Program of Violence.

"The conquest of power does not mean 'peacefully' capturing the state. The state is captured for the purpose of the violent overthrow of bourgeois power, destruction of the state apparatus—armies, police, bureaucracy, judiciary, parliaments."

"The Soviet State is the armed proletarian state."

Are the above quotations from "spreaders of hate and falsehood against Russia"—against whom Mr. Wallace warns?

No. They are direct quotations from the programs, statutes and theses of Communist International congresses, whose policies are those of the Soviet Union.

Mr. Wallace asked people to let him know that "they have come out fighting against the powers of evil."

What "powers of evil?" There is a power of evil that is using Mr. Wallace, to divide America and deliver it over to its sworn enemies. Its growth points the way, not to peace, but to dreadful civil strife—which the Soviets are instigating wherever they do not yet have power—and which the Communist International has repeatedly affirmed is the "only" and "inevitable" way to "peace."

(Released by the Bell Syndicate, Inc.)

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. E. A. Tamm ✓
Mr. Clegg ✓
Mr. Glavin ✓
Mr. Ladd ✓
Mr. Nichols ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Tracy ✓
Mr. Carson ✓
Mr. Egan ✓
Mr. Gurnea ✓
Mr. Harbo ✓
Mr. Hendon ✓
Mr. Jones ✓
Mr. Leonard ✓
Mr. Pennington ✓
Mr. Quinn Tamm ✓
Mr. Nease ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

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80 FEB 28 1948

EX-25
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Director
8/18/47

Original of this letter sent direct to
Director at La Jolla.

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228303

ANONYMOUS COMMUNICATION
KEEP ENVELOPE ATTACHED

Why has Congress not been checked for and the communists ousted? No wonder it is so hard to get worthwhile bills through.

Henry A.
Wallace and Taylor should be indicted for treason instead of permitting them to form a third party which will eventually overthrow the U. S. government.

You will note from the enclosures that there are approximately 500,000 communists in California alone.

ENCL

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FBI
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Witness Declares Reds Have Illegal Party In U. S.

SAN FRANCISCO, March 2.—(UP)—The Communist Party maintains an "underground illegal" organization in the United States. A Portland, Ore., policeman who joined the party to get information about it, gave this testimony today at the deportation hearing of Nate Yanish, 38, advertising manager for the Daily People's World.

Merriell R. Bacon, who said he joined the party in 1930 and who was described by Yanish's attorney as a "labor spy," testified the Communists had both a legal and an illegal party in the United States.

"You're on probation during your first few months in the party," he testified. "You have to be in the party a year before you can be a delegate to the national convention. You have to be a member five years to be a member of the underground illegal."

Yanish, an admitted member of the Communist Party, faces deportation to his native Russia if the immigration department finds he belongs to an organization advocating overthrow of the United States Government by force.

Immigration Inspector Lloyd E. Gowan overruled Gladstein's motion to disqualify Bacon's testimony because it was gathered 18 years ago. Gladstein also lost in an effort to prove Bacon "habitually associated over a period of years with anti labor and union busting organizations" and was "entirely unreliable" as a witness.

Wallace Supporters File 482,499 Names

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 24.—(AP)—Henry Wallace supporters today filed 482,499 names with county clerks in 52 counties of the state in an effort to qualify the Independent Progressive Party.

About 300,000 valid signatures of voters are necessary to place the party and Wallace on the ballot.

Elinor Kahn, state secretary of the party, said the state figure includes 278,500 names filed in Los Angeles County, and 56,668 in San Francisco.

First Wallace Petitions Are Filed With State

The first certified petitions to qualify the Henry Wallace Independent Progressive Party for the June primary election reached the secretary of state's office today.

Charles J. Hagerty, deputy secretary of state, announced county clerks have certified signatures as follows: San Luis Obispo, 233; Inyo, 118; Mariposa, 40.

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Senator Glen H. Taylor, Democrat of Idaho (left), and Henry Wallace are shown in Washington, D. C., after Taylor last night announced for the No. 2 position on Wallace's third party ticket. The senator wears a button, Wallace '48. (AP Wirephoto) (Story on Page 4.)

ENCLOSURE

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: March 5, 1948

FROM : D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT: HENRY A. WALLACE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Your attention is directed to Henry Wallace's column on page 11 of the March 8, 1948, issue of the "New Republic," and to the attached clipping from page 4 of "PM" newspaper for Friday, March 5, 1948, in which it is stated by Wallace that he is organizing a "Freedom League" to combat "the subtle terrorism" that he claims is being spread through the country by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Wallace calls on "everyone who has a specific instance of how the federal government or businessmen have abridged our freedom to write in to the Freedom League at Room 1405, 40 East Forty-ninth Street, New York 17" (the offices of the "New Republic"). Wallace continues:

"... Give the name of the man who put pressure on you or who asked an un-American question.

"Did the investigator ask whether you read the 'New Republic,' the 'Nation,' 'PM' or 'Reader's Scope'? Did he ask if you knew Henry Wallace or Glen Taylor or Jo Davidson or Albert Einstein? What other questions were asked designed to make you feel like a criminal if you entertained a progressive idea or knew a progressive American?"

ACTION:

None. This is for your information. We will, however, keep you advised concerning any further items regarding the Freedom League.

Attachment

*Shouldn't we get out
an SAC letter on this*

2 ENCL

LW:WMJ

3/8/46

Proposed SAC

letter typed

LL

RECORDED MAR 22 1948

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71 APR 7-1948

J. L. R. G.

Wallace Sets Up 'Freedom League' To Fight 'Subtle Terrorism' of FBI

Henry Wallace announced he was organizing a "Freedom League" to combat "the subtle terrorism" he said was being spread through the country by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Proposing an "informal" league with headquarters at the *New Republic's* offices, 40 E. 49th St., Wallace urged "everyone who has a specific instance of how the Federal Government or businessmen have abridged our freedom to write" to the League.

"Give the name of the man who put pressure on you or who

asked an un-American question," he said.

The Third Party candidate for President said in his column in the *New Republic* that he knew of instances where "young men have been fired because an employer saw them wearing a Wallace button." Businessmen have kept donations to his campaign anonymous because they feared retaliation from their associates, he said.

"Stealthily, over the United States black fear is creeping," Wallace wrote. "So far it doesn't shoot people. Its method is to stifle every progressive thought by subtle terrorism."

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"PM"

March 5, 1948
Page 4

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New



MARCH 8, 1948

Republic

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SOUTH



THE BACKGROUND

By THOMAS SANCTON



DEMOCRATS DIVIDE

By HELEN FULLER



THE PRESIDENT'S PROGRAM

By MICHAEL STRAIGHT

CZECHOSLOVAKIA:

THE COMMUNISTS ADVANCE

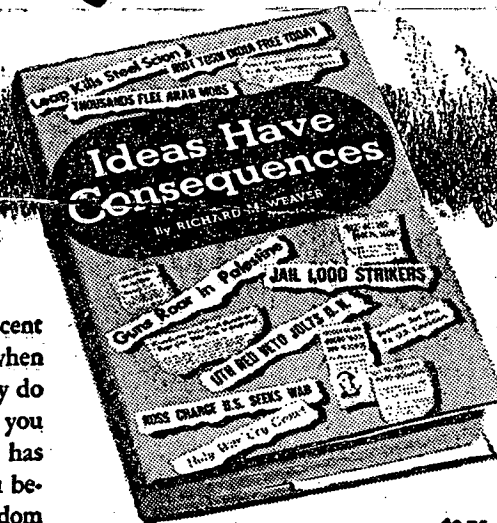
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Mr. Weaver's book will start you asking yourself some questions:

- Have the facts of atomic energy helped the world solve its problems?
- Did education bring freedom and peace to modern Germany, "the one totally literate nation"?
- Are bomb-shattered cities, stricken faiths, whole nations turned into penal camps, half of mankind looking on the other half as criminal—are these signs of progress?

After you have read IDEAS HAVE CONSEQUENCES you may be asking yourself with Mr. Weaver, is modern man a moral idiot, the maker of his own misery?

"This book will be hated and attacked... Brilliantly written, daring and radical... It will shock, and philosophical shock is the beginning of wisdom."

—Paul Tillich.

"A profound diagnosis of the sickness of our culture, it will be shocking to many moderns."—Reinhold Niebuhr.

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By RICHARD M. WEAVER

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By HANS J. MORGENTHAU. "Should have the widest possible reading. Will dispel many dangerous illusions of our contemporary culture."—Reinhold Niebuhr \$3.00

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CONTRIBUTING EDITOR: Henry A. Wallace
EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Bruce Bliven
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MARCH 8, 1948

3

WASHINGTON WIRE

THE BIG domestic news this week is the growing despair of the Democrats. Following the Jackson Day-dinner flop, Truman's prestige took a further giddy decline in the handling of the Palestine issue. Party leaders are at last asking themselves if it's possible to switch to another candidate. The practical answer is Yes, but it means almost certain defeat. It's a repudiation of the party's own leader and record.

The Roosevelt coalition is fast falling apart, Wallace leading off one wing, Southern reactionaries—another. There's no fun in any of this for middle-of-the-road progressives.

With all Truman's mistakes and ineptitudes, they feel he's been right on social legislation, the Taft-Hartley Act, taxes, the Marshall Plan and civil liberties. Truman's position now is a good deal like that of Lincoln's successor, Andrew Johnson, who managed to alienate almost everybody in a remarkably short time, some for good reason. The Democrats ditched Johnson, and the Republicans and the money powers took over. Things look good for them today, too.



ERP will pass. What's happening in Czechoslovakia and Finland ends all doubt about the Marshall Plan in Congress. There seem good prospects that Senate and House will pass it by the April 1 deadline, with a 12-month figure close to the \$5.3 billion fixed by Vandenberg. When ERP was proposed, few thought it could pass in the time set or on the scale proposed.

Many observers still feel the mood of the country is basically isolationist—war-weary, cynical, disillusioned. Russia, according to this theory, would have wrecked ERP if she had sweetly signed up when invited to do so at the Paris parley. But Russia didn't. For good or ill, her course since the war has been nicely calculated to produce results in Congress the exact opposite

of what she wanted. Amid sorrow over the Czechs, the ERP leaders in Congress can be heard muttering, "Nice timing, Joe, nice timing!"

Grab bag. Republicans are shushing some of their greediest followers for the sake of election appearances. Thus, most of the wind is out of the Fulton Lewis Jr. drive against farm coöperatives, which Chairman Knutson of the House Ways and Means Committee backed. The co-ops have a lot of votes, it appears. Western states also are getting back a good part of their reclamation money, which the power lobby previously blocked. Even so, two extraordinary grabs are going on, the success of which shows the postwar apathy of public opinion.

First proposal is to give offshore oil back to the states for private exploitation, even though the Supreme Court has ruled this is a part, and an invaluable part, of the public domain. Wizenen Senator Moore (R, Okla.), spokesman for the oil lobby, is leading this fight. It's about the same thing as saying, "Let's parcel out Yosemite National Park to the real-estate interests."

Second grab is the Rizley-Moore natural-gas bill. Here again, the national interest would be denied and consumer rates for natural gas would be boosted, to aid the power lobby. It would also hamstring the Federal Power Commission, set up to guard the consumer.

Odd angle. A funny angle here is that Truman has made one of his characteristically inept nominations to fill a current vacancy on the five-man board (see page 10). The commission is bitterly divided, two to two, on the general idea of the Rizley bill. Instead of seizing the issue as a heaven-sent opportunity to dramatize the liberal side, Truman has sent up the name

only 34 weeks to go . . . to the decisive election of '48

- 34 WEEKS left to join with other progressives in helping to elect a LIBERAL Congress.
- 34 WEEKS to follow the issues and truths Henry Wallace will raise and present in signed, personal views, *exclusive* in New Republic.
- 34 IMPORTANT WEEKS to determine the outlook for peace and prosperity both at home and abroad.
- EIGHT MONTHS to find out what part the labor unions will play in the campaigns; whether the voters will repudiate Reaction.
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New Republic

NEW REPUBLIC

of a man, Burton N. Behling, whose past utterances indicate that either he is on the wrong side or doesn't know what it's all about.

Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming will probably oppose Behling's confirmation. A lot of people in Washington seem to think that O'Mahoney would make a nice Democratic presidential candidate.

Notes. The GOP will push the anti-poll-tax and anti-lynching bills to get Negro votes and to divide the Democrats. . . . The essence of *Jim Farley's Story: The Roosevelt Years* is a single charge: "FDR promised Farley he wouldn't run for a third term—and ran"; the other side of the case, naturally enough, isn't offered. . . . It can be said authoritatively that Russia's chief political representative in Germany initiated and carried through a long talk with Ambassador Robert D. Murphy covering the whole range of US-USSR problems.

Steel's six. Half a dozen men control the policies of America's basic, titanic steel industry. Ten steel companies control 90 percent of the whole industry's assets; dominant US Steel has 40 percent and is two and one-half times bigger than its closest rival, Bethlehem, which, in turn, is twice as big as the third, Republic. . . . The Dewey forces expect victories in the first three primaries—New Hampshire, Wisconsin and Oregon; they will try to make it appear a bandwagon movement.

America's irresponsible legislative system now permits a single Representative, Chairman Allen (R, Ill.), of the House Rules Committee (with the connivance of other GOP leaders), to block the vote on UMT by bottling it up in committee; like the bill or not, this violates democracy. . . . Another slick trick is Virginia Governor Tuck's, so to manipulate the archaic electoral-college procedure as to take from state voters the right to name the presidential candidate they support; they can only designate the party, not the candidate.

Washington

T. R. B.



THE WEEK

BAD WEEK

Every reader of headlines agreed that it was a bad week. Czechoslovakia was bad, with its ominous overtones for the future. The rocky road to Palestine partition through the UN was bad, as people everywhere wondered whether the UN itself would now go the way of the League. The long-secret agreement to give a thousand fighting planes to Chiang Kai-shek was bad, for painfully obvious reasons. Secretary Marshall's plea for more money to be given to Greece and Turkey, "Operation Rathole," was bad, as a confession of failure up to now and a promise of more failure to come.

Those who anxiously scanned the headlines for something to offset the gloomy tidings found extremely thin fare. Frank ("Spec") Shea had signed again with the Yankees, and the price of butter went down. It was not enough.

FALLING BAROMETER

WASHINGTON (NR correspondent)

The political barometer at Democratic headquarters has fallen so rapidly since the Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner that it now stands dangerously close to the storm-warning area. Two weeks ago there was a flourishing crop of vice-presidential aspirants on the Democratic side. Today you can cover miles of Capitol corridors without finding a single shy candidate for second place on the Truman ticket.

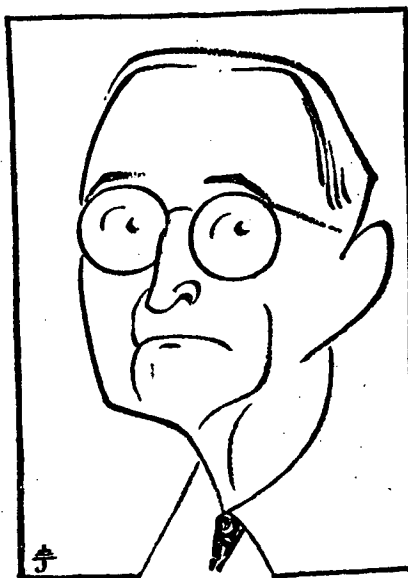
"What's happened in the last two weeks?" one puzzled Senator asked. "Everything is changed. Everyone believes we're going to get licked."

A canvass last week of the top Democratic leadership in the two Houses and representative state chair-

men, national committeemen and committeewomen turned up no one who thought Harry could win.

What caused the decline in faith in Harry? Some said it was his poor performance in his party-celebration speech that did it—coming right on top of Henry Wallace's Bronx victory and the mounting Southern troubles. Others said not even all that would have set off this psychological slump unless there were a secret conviction in most Democratic hearts that the Truman cause had always been doomed to failure.

If not Harry? Whatever the case, a few top Democrats are actually thinking of doing something about replacing Truman as the party candidate. The first name that pops up when they discuss the question is still that of General Dwight D. Eisenhower. His statement certainly removed him from the Republican picture, but, the Democrats ask, must that close the door on us, too?



DRAWING BY JACOBI

For the liberal-minded ones, there is Bill Douglas. Though he definitely removed himself as a possibility for Vice President with Truman some time ago, some of his friends feel the Justice would not refuse the number-one position if it were available under proper conditions. Of course, his views on civil liberties are even less acceptable to "white supremacy" Southerners than Truman's. So those who support him think he has a chance only if the Southern revolt comes off.

At this point, we enter the field of what sounds like pure fantasy. For example, it is suggested that if a fourth party, the anti-Truman Southern Democrats, took the field, an attempt should be made to persuade Henry Wallace to give up his candidacy in favor of an amalgamation with the Northern liberal Democrats behind Douglas. Alternatively, there is a Southern scheme to force the nomination of an acceptable compromise between Truman and the present anti-Truman forces, in the person of James F. Byrnes. While all this may appear highly unrealistic, it is so serious that many important Democrats are determined to tell President Truman, at the earliest possible moment, how bad things look. Up to now, he remains undismayed. The last words Washington heard him say as he took off for vacation were, "I'm just as happy as I can be."

"JUST CHECKING"

With their accustomed air of mystery, pairs of FBI agents sauntered into New York City offices of more than 30 left-wing CIO locals last week. They had a number of casual questions to ask about union contributions to 1946 political campaigns, and also current

activities. The Hatch Campaign Expenditures Act was mentioned. Then the cryptic G-men sauntered out again.

Since the Department of Justice had already completed one check of the CIO's 1946 political-campaign expenditures, Secretary-Treasurer Saul Mills of the Greater New York CIO Council decided something new was in the wind. He told reporters that it looked as though the FBI visits "were calculated to intimidate and harass unions and union members who have indicated their support for Henry A. Wallace for President." Mills then reeled off a list of a dozen or so locals favorable to the Wallace candidacy whose officials had been questioned by the agents. (See Wallace article, page 11.)

DOWN THE RATHOLE

President Truman's quarterly report on US aid to Greece and Turkey (the *NR*, February 23) made it quite clear that the original high purpose of helping the Greek people to get back on their feet had degenerated into an ineffective military operation with no end in sight. When Secretary Marshall the other day asked Congress for more money for Greece and Turkey, he made little attempt to disguise the "Operation Rathole" nature of the venture.

Marshall's presentation, a brief letter to Senator Vandenberg, President of the Senate, and Representative Martin, Speaker of the House, was quite a contrast to the crisis-atmosphere joint session of Congress to which the President proposed the original plan last year. Open military support to anyone engaged in killing Communists anywhere is no longer a shocker on Capitol Hill. The Secretary spoke in frank terms of the "lines of supply" from the US to the Greek army. He claimed no more for the Truman Doctrine to date than that it had "contained" Russian-backed forces. All he offered for the future was a dogged belief that we could outlast Russia with more of the same.

The \$275 million for which Marshall asked will not be apportioned to Greece and Turkey in advance, but

Made It

PRACTICALLY ALL California political leaders this week conceded that the Independent Progressive Party (third party) would be on the ballot in November.

The new party finished the most momentous petition campaign in the state's history by filing 486,000 signatures of registered voters. Needing 276,000 names to qualify, according to the stringent election laws of California, the IPP's 10,000 volunteer petition circulators rolled up almost twice the number, which had been considered "impossible."

A majority of the signatures, 275,000, came from Los Angeles County, within which almost one of every four registered voters signed for Henry Wallace.

will be doled out where and as needed. Whatever share goes to Greece is for a negative purpose: to prevent the establishment of "the dictatorship of a foreign-inspired minority" until the present Greek government can "stand its own ground without outside aid." Actual power in Greece today is in the hands of a tiny minority of arch-reactionaries and millionaires, and they are certainly "foreign-inspired." They will never "stand their own ground" except as part of a fascist type of dictatorship. Thus the US's moral outlook in Greece seems as precarious as the military one, and as dreary as the outlook of the Greek people for real democracy and prosperity.

NO BEDS FOR NEGROES

LOS ANGELES (*NR* correspondent)

Keep out. There are 22 hospitals in Los Angeles, but when one of the city's 160,000 Negroes gets sick, there is usually only one thing he can do: lie down until he recovers or until he dies. If he is lucky, he may gain admission to the County General Hospital, reserved for charity patients. But he can make the rounds of the other 21 institutions of mercy and never get anywhere, because these are Jim Crow hospitals.

County General is the only hospital in Los Angeles which allows Negro physicians to serve on its staff—it

has two—and it is the only one which will admit Negroes. The other hospitals bar Negroes from their staffs, and the white doctors for the most part refuse to treat Negroes. Since they must consent to do so before a Negro patient is admitted, the effect is to bar the doors against the Negro race.

The results of Jim Crow medicine in Los Angeles have been disastrous. In certain Negro sections, the tubercular rate is 400 percent higher than in comparable white districts. In the main Negro section, deaths per 100,000 population from tuberculosis were 142.8, whereas in a typical white area, the incidence was 36.8.

Twin errors. Los Angeles authorities have not only, by condoning a Jim Crow hospital policy, refrained from taking effective steps to provide medical care for Negroes, but they have also been apathetic in attacking the causes of sickness in the Negro sections. Segregation of Negroes into crowded, unsanitary slum areas has built up reservoirs of disease which spill over into the rest of the city.

The only real step forward has been taken by a non-sectarian, non-profit interracial organization of professional people who are planning construction of West View Hospital, which will contain 50 beds. When this institution begins operation, it will admit patients without regard to race, creed or color, and its staff will include both white and Negro doctors.

But 50 beds is small potatoes in view of what is needed. James Hamilton, former president of the American Hospital Association, says that the city must have 10,000. And even then, these beds will be no use to Negroes until Los Angeles cures itself of its Jim Crow complex.

FAKE RENT CONTROL

A congressman received a telephone call a few days ago from a constituent some 2,000 miles away who wanted to know: "Is or isn't there any rent control? Will the landlord be able to raise my rent this month? Am I likely to be evicted? If so, do I have to take the

case to court or will the government do it for me?"

The congressman couldn't answer any of his constituent's questions. Instead, he mailed him a copy of the bill just passed by the Senate to extend rent controls for another 14 months. The tenant will find little comfort in the Senate bill. If his landlord did raise the rent within the next 14 months (which would violate the law), he would only be subject to a civil damage suit.

The Senate knocked out a clause providing criminal penalties up to a \$1,000 fine and one year in jail for landlords guilty of a violation. If the tenant is renting a furnished room in a private home (as many college students, veterans and others do), the landlord can raise the rent as high as he likes. The Federal Housing Expediter no longer has power to file damage suits for rent violations.

The House has even nastier plans for the tenant. Representative Jesse P. Wolcott (R, Mich.), chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee, is now working on a rent bill. He hopes to get through a law to allow a straight 10-to-20-percent hike in all rents, exempt from any control rooms and apartments not now rented, and give local boards (usually run by real-estate men) complete autonomy over enforcement of the law.

Six Lives Saved

PORTLAND, ORE. (NR correspondent)

BECAUSE of the generosity of West Coast labor-union members, six young Spanish stowaways who arrived in the US last October will not have to return to Spain and a Franco firing squad (the NR, January 12). The refugees, former members of the Spanish underground, will be released from a government detention camp in Portland next month to go to Venezuela.

Agreement of the Venezuelan embassy in Washington, D. C., to supply the detainees with visas ends a five-month campaign by labor to prevent extradition of the men to Spain. Their fares to Venezuela will be paid for from a \$4,000 fund contributed by sympathizers all over the US.

Unless members of the House are able to amend such a bill when it comes to the floor, rent "decontrol" will be the law next year.

LONG AND TALMADGE

Return of the Long and Talmadge machines to power has given a new boost to the Southern Governors' efforts to rule or wreck the National Democratic Party. Earl K. Long, brother of "The Kingfish," and Herman Talmadge, son of Eugene, have gained legal control of the Democratic Parties in Louisiana and Georgia.

Earl Long, not so effective an orator as his brother but just as ambitious, was chosen as the next Governor of Louisiana in a runoff primary with Sam Houston Jones. Jones had defeated him in the 1940 race, so the victory a few days ago ended Long's eighth politically lean year. He managed to weather attacks connecting him with the "Louisiana Scandals" which sent Governor Richard Leche and several other political bosses to prison in 1939.

In Georgia, young Herman Talmadge won legal control over the state's Democratic machinery when the Georgia Supreme Court voted unanimously to vest party power in the Talmadge faction. This ended ten months of contest and confusion and probably ended also the political career of Governor M. E. Thompson. The Thompson group, which has been tacitly recognized by national Democratic officials, was declared to be without any official standing. Each of the groups had held its own convention and branded the other as "rump Democrats" and "bolters."

Uninstructed. Another important development has just come in Virginia. Its Governor, William M. Tuck, has requested the state legislature to rewrite the law to permit selection of uninstructed presidential electors. At the same time, he asked Virginia's General Assembly to pass a bill that would remove the names of candidates for President and Vice President from ballots in that state. The law would put only party labels on the ballots

and would bar the name of any party unless it had been listed in the last presidential election, or unless its candidates polled 10 percent of the vote at some general election within the last five years.

Such a law would knock out Henry Wallace's third party, as well as any move by Truman to enter Virginia's election with some new modification of the Democratic Party label. The Mississippi and South Carolina state legislatures, the only other two in the South meeting this year, are expected to follow Virginia's lead in freeing their electors to oppose Truman if and when the time comes.

HOLLYWOOD QUICKIE

LOS ANGELES (NR correspondent)

Looking much like a road-show company of the Thomas committee, California State Senator Jack B. Tenney and his troupe—the Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities—descended on Los Angeles last week for a "quickie" four-day engagement.

The performance had all the trappings of the Washington spectacle. It came complete with Hollywood glamor, a "mystery witness" (who remained a mystery after it was all over), a Roosevelt smear and threatened contempt citations.

First came the verdict. Fifty-one or-

Planes to China

GOP CONGRESSMEN who don't like the non-military character of the proposed \$570 million China loan learned a wartime secret last week. Air Secretary W. Stuart Symington informed them that in 1945 the US secretly agreed to supply Chiang with 1,071 warplanes, worth \$300 million—enough to make China's air force equal to that of Spain or Turkey.

Already 936 of the planes have been delivered, Symington said. But his disclosure, intended to reassure the Republicans that President Truman is doing all right by Chiang, produced some consternation as well. It made it all the harder for some Senators to figure out how Chiang could be getting licked so badly by a gang of guerrillas.

ganizations, including the Committee for the First Amendment, which avowedly excludes Communists, and many groups long extinct, were pronounced "Communist fronts." Afterwards came the "investigation" of the groups already branded. Guilt by association "proved" the "findings" previously announced.

Prominent among those subpoenaed were four executive-board members of

the Actors' Laboratory Theater, a drama school and production company of high professional standing in Hollywood. The four were actress Rose Hobart and veteran character actors J. Edward Bromberg, Roman Bohnen and Will Lee.

Before calling the four to the stand, Committee Counsel Richard E. Combs read into the record the names of every known national, state and local Com-

munist official. Having allowed that to sink in, Combs then proceeded to refer to one Jacobina Caro Davison, posture instructor at the Actors' Lab, as being the wife of alleged-Communist Sidney Davison, director of the People's Educational Center, a Hollywood school which is also on the Tenney list. Actors' Lab board members Bromberg and Bohnen were alleged to have "taught" at the Center. Actor Will Lee, moreover, was claimed to have inserted a greetings advertisement in a local Communist publication under the pseudonym of William Lee.

Tenney's contention was that any connection between the Actors' Lab and the Center proved the Lab to be a "Marxist training center for actors," and, conversely, any association between the Center and the Lab showed that the Center was a "Red front." Will Lee denied inserting the ad, and testified that he was appearing in the East at the time of its publication. He pointed out to Tenney the fact that there are 42 other William Lees in the telephone directory, and suggested them as equally likely prospects. Bohnen said he did indeed deliver a lecture on the theory of acting at the People's Educational Center in 1941; Bromberg denied ever having done so. Jacobina Caro, as was not revealed, had divorced Davison seven years ago.

FDR smear. The Roosevelt smear was provided by giving wide publicity to a statement of University of California President Robert Gordon Sproul that he was host to the 1943 Writers' Congress "at the direct request of President Roosevelt." The statement had been issued, Tenney explained, "after our committee had informed Dr. Sproul that the odor of the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization [sponsors of the congress] was not that of violets."

On the last day of testimony, Federal Judge Leon R. Yankwich, previously charged with having been a "lecturer" at the People's Educational Center, demanded the witness stand. When sworn in, the Judge filed a copy of the lecture he had delivered at the Center, originally prepared for the

(Continued on page 10)

Stalling on Palestine

MEMBERS of the UN Security Council—the US in particular—are still discussing the partition of Palestine in measured phrases. But beneath the diplomatic amenities lies the Council's realization that the Palestine impasse may be slowly putting an end to the United Nations as an effective international organization.

For reasons of morale, most UN delegates are keeping their deep pessimism to themselves. They know, however, that unless the UN takes rapid, decisive action to enforce the partition recommendation, it will lose what semblance of authority it now possesses.

If partition fails through lack of enforcement, the responsibility for failure will lie largely with the US. This country, with its great prestige, can either force implementation of partition through the Security Council or compel it to be dropped.

Results of inaction. US Delegate Warren R. Austin indicates that the US, by following a policy of inaction, will bring the second result: it will vote for implementation, but will exert no pressure on other members to do likewise.

This policy of procrastination is apparently based on the hope that during a protracted investigation, partition will wither away. Austin knows that delay can be fatal, especially in view of the fact that Britain will begin to withdraw her

troops on May 15, leaving the problem in UN hands.

There is very little doubt as to the identity of the pressures which are determining the course of United States policy in the Security Council. Secretary of Defense James V. Forrestal and the State Department's Loy Henderson, director of the Division of Near Eastern and African Affairs, have served notice that they will oppose creation of an armed body to enforce partition. Their primary purpose seems to be to keep friendly relations with Arab states which control the huge Middle East oil reserves, even if such appeasement means dropping partition.

It's up to us. If the US decided to reverse its stalling policy, it would need only to persuade any one of the three powers, China, Colombia or Argentina, to change from abstention to support of implementation. So far, the Council has six of the seven necessary votes to set up an international police force for Palestine—the US, the USSR, France, Canada, Belgium and the Ukraine. China, with her heavy reliance on US financial aid, could probably be persuaded to join the majority.

But, as things look now, the US is apparently set to relax on the side lines after casting its own vote. And the UN will go down to its first, and perhaps last, crucial defeat.



"The Palestine problem has been and is the deep concern of this government. It has been given the most careful consideration by me, the cabinet, and other responsible government officials."

President Truman as quoted in the New York Herald Tribune of February 25, 1948

A Smell of Oil

by Robert S. Allen

PRESIDENT TRUMAN is quietly and effectively transforming the Federal Power Commission from a regulatory agency into a mouthpiece for the oil and natural-gas industries. His nomination of Burton N. Behling as an FPC commissioner has the odor of crude petroleum.

Behling, who calls himself an independent, owes his selection to the combined efforts of California oilman Ed Pauley, former Governor Robert S. Kerr (Kerr-McGee Oil Industries, Inc.) of Oklahoma, and former Michigan Senator Prentiss M. Brown (head of a Detroit light and power company). Behling is also closely identified with the views of the commission's chairman, Nelson Lee Smith, who rarely expresses opinions unfavorable to the oil and utilities interests.

Behling's nomination is the latest episode in the Truman regulation-wrecking spree which has already ousted James M. Landis as Civil Aeronautics Board chairman, and Marriner S. Eccles as head of the Federal Reserve Board. Consequently there has been little surprise in Washington.

The confirmation of Behling—he would replace retiring Commissioner Richard Sachse—will assure the oil interests of a sympathetic majority in the five-man commission. Behling will undoubtedly support the regulation-scuttling legislation the oil companies are trying to jam through Congress.

Carefully echoing Chairman Smith and Commissioner Harrington Wimberly, Behling has already gone on record as favoring the notorious Rizley-Moore bill (the NR, February 23), which would legalize upward revision (on a basis of the "fair-field-price" formula) of natural-gas rates, now being held to a cost-of-production level by the government.

The additional cost per year of such a rate boost to natural-gas consumers in the Colorado-to-New York area alone would be \$56 million. And that isn't all. Phillips Petroleum has a gigantic stake in the establishment of field prices as part of the rate base. Commissioner Leland Olds, who has written his own separate report on the gas investigation, estimates the value of Phillips' gas reserves at \$389 million if field prices are five cents per thousand cubic feet. If the price goes up to 10 cents, Olds points out that the value of Phillips' property will be increased accordingly.

Welcome addition. Ex-Senator Brown and former Governor Kerr are connected financially with a pipeline project several phases of which are awaiting final FPC approval. Since the present commission is split two to two on the matter, and a rival pipeline is challenging the whole proceeding in the courts, it would be very nice, naturally, to have an agreeable fellow appointed to break the deadlock. Behling, for instance.

Both politically and financially, the pipeline companies are doing pretty well, and with Behling's added help they hope to do even better. Under prevailing cost-of-production price levels, for example, the Interstate Natural Gas Company earned 15.9 percent on its invested capital from 1939 to 1946. Colorado Interstate Gas Company collected 15.1 percent. And eight other natural-gas pipeline companies are on the list of the top 20 big money-making US corporations.

If Behling is confirmed and the Rizley-Moore "fair-field-price" formula goes through, the 1948 profits of these pipeline companies should zoom into the wild blue yonder.

Newman Club, a Catholic group, and declared that "I will give the benefit of my knowledge to any group" be it white, Negro, Jewish, Catholic, Communist, Anarchist "or anything else." Asked if he would talk before the German-American Bund, the Judge turned to face Tenney and brought down the house with his reply: "Yes, on my own terms. I'll even talk to you!"

A day later the Tenney troupe folded camp and left town just as the Freedom Train pulled in.

FOOTNOTE TO A PURGE

Representative Karl Stefan (R, Nebr.), as chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on the State Department, was able to get access to files of last year's notorious loyalty purge. And last week, 12 typical cases were spread on the record at hearings. Hamilton Robinson, director of the State Department's Office of Control, was closely questioned about his methods. Only the names of the suspects were withheld.

A reading of the 12 reports shows that case after case was based *solely* on such items as membership in the Americans for Democratic Action, "his wife belongs to the League of Women Shoppers," he "studied under Harold Laski," he once said, "Henry Wallace is the outstanding symbol of American democracy." Equally damning was membership in the American Veterans' Committee, membership in the American Civil Liberties Union, participation in the US trade-union delegation to Soviet Russia (1927), unfavorable mention by Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling, Victor Kravchenko and a Roman Catholic priest in Italy, association with an official of the PAC, being "too vigorous in her beliefs," and so on.

In fairness to the department it should be said that most of the people accused only of such silly things were not dismissed, and that what looks on the face of it at least to be a reasonably fair trial procedure is now in force within the department. The criticism leveled last year at the department's star-chamber proceedings was evidently effective.

HENRY WALLACE'S COLUMN

Old-Fashioned Americanism

THE BIGGEST ISSUE in the 1948 campaign is a return to old-fashioned Americanism.

By old-fashioned Americanism I mean the right to express an opinion without fear of losing your job, your citizenship, or your business.

By old-fashioned Americanism I mean the spirit of Irish-born congressman Matthew Lyon of Vermont, who, in 1798, said just what he thought of John Adams, even though he was jailed for it. It was Matthew Lyon in jail in 1798 who prepared the way for Thomas Jefferson and the destruction of the Federalist Party.

The un-Americanism of the Federalist Party in 1798 is expressing itself in the US today to frighten millions of American citizens. Headquarters for this un-Americanism are the Department of Justice, the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives, and businessmen who use economic compulsion to interfere with the free expression of political views by employees and business associates.

As I have traveled back and forth across the country I have been told many instances of violation of the spirit of the First Amendment. Young men have been fired because an employer saw them wearing a Wallace button. Hundreds of businessmen have given anonymously to our cause because they feared they would be discriminated against by their associates if their names were known. Stealthily, over the United States black fear is creeping. So far it doesn't shoot people. Its method is to stifle every progressive thought by subtle terrorism.

The two divisions of the Department of Justice which spread this terror most insidiously are the FBI and the Immigration and Naturalization Service. A foreigner (this is an ac-

tual case) applies for his final papers. He is highly educated and progressive, a church member, certainly not a Communist. One of the questions asked by the naturalization officials to this particular man is, "Do you know Henry Wallace?" He had hoped to work for me in the campaign. He has not yet got his papers, though he thinks he will get them. But will he work for Wallace?

He will not. He will be afraid of endangering his citizenship. He knows what is happening to foreign-born labor leaders. So he will lie low and vote for me, but his truly great talents will not be used in the campaign. The creeping terror has stifled his creative abilities with fear. That is what the government of the United States has done.

This man will never make an issue of it, nor do I want to embarrass him. But I do want to start an informal Freedom League. I want everyone who has a specific instance of how the federal government or businessmen have abridged our freedom to write in to the Freedom League at Room 1405, 40 East Forty-ninth Street, New York 17. Give the name of the man who put pressure on you or who asked an un-American question.

Did the investigator ask whether you read the *New Republic*, the *Nation*, *PM* or *Reader's Scope*? Did he ask if you knew Henry Wallace or Glen Taylor or Jo Davidson or Albert Einstein? What other questions were asked designed to make you feel like a criminal if you entertained a progressive idea or knew a progressive American? We shall not use your name without your permission. If you feel it is really necessary, don't even sign your name when you send us the information.

Many minorities have had to band

together to protect themselves against unjust attack. The Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith is an outstanding example of such an organization. The time has come for those of us who believe in old-fashioned Americanism to fight back. The first step is to get the names of the men in the government who have been using unfair methods of investigation. If you write to us without signing your name, please be sure to describe just what the unfair methods were, and give all details.

It is my contention that the Department of Justice has no more right to ask prospective citizens if they read the *New Republic* than if they read *Business Week*.

It is no more just to imply that the *New Republic* is subversive than to imply that *Business Week* is subversive. When investigators spread fear and terror among those who are working politically to overthrow the present Administration by votes, government is stepping outside of its constitutional functions. We shall oppose such extra-constitutional functioning by using old-fashioned American methods.

The Freedom League must also prepare to expose businessmen who employ economic coercion to control the political activity of employees. It is true that the best work on behalf of unprotected minorities is often done quietly; in some cases publicity defeats the purpose of justice. Future developments, and the response to this article, will determine the extent to which we shall work publicly or shall exert our pressure quietly and behind the scenes.

We have heard a lot of talk about the Freedom Train, with its precious documents from the past. How about making freedom live?

Henry A. Wallace

WHAT HAPPENED IN PRAGUE

EVENTS in Czechoslovakia are casting a long, momentous shadow over the world. The precise balance of forces that will emerge in the reorganized Communist-controlled government is not yet clear. But while the conservative US press has jumped hastily—too hastily—to the conclusion that all the traditional Czech democratic principles have been sunk without trace, the opposite view—that this is not in the full sense a Communist coup—seems supported by little more than wish fulfilment.

In any event, it is certain that the new situation will have profound consequences not only in Czechoslovakia but internationally. Already, the change-over has intensified the cold war between the US and the USSR. It has stirred up forces that will increase domestic turmoil in France and Italy. And it has sharpened the world's ears for such reports as the one that Marshal Stalin's "request" for a new pact with Finland cloaks a demand for a new relationship that would make Finland almost completely a Soviet satellite.

From the long view the basic question—as yet unanswerable—is whether the Communist move in Czechoslovakia was made from strength or from weakness. There seems some ground for the belief that the Soviet timetable has been changed, that Moscow's tempo has been stepped up.

Soviet motive? One interpretation is that the Soviets, gaining power, are boldly setting the stage for the final issue of peace or war.

The opposite interpretation is that the Communists chose high-pressure tactics in Prague because the opposition in Czechoslovakia was gaining ground, because there was fear that in a free election the Communist Party would lose its status as the largest single political entity.

Those who hold the second view say both the Czech coup and the reported Finnish move are efforts to strengthen Soviet bastions against the West precisely because communism is losing ground in the West. They are retreats, shortenings of the political front in anticipation of defeats at the polls in Italy and France.

The advent of the Communists to power in Czechoslovakia required a short time and seemed to be accomplished with relative ease. But the parliamentary forms it took were different from those in Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary.

The Czech Communists, as their brethren always do, went through their usual maneuvers of "people's demonstrations," attempted purges, armed street patrols, strike threats and talking of foreign plotting. But Czech democrats, remembering Munich and the Nazi occupation, put up a fight to save civil liberties.

How it began. The crisis began February 13 when the four non-Communist parties in the coalition government demanded that the Communist Minister of the Interior stop packing the Prague police force with party henchmen. At the same time the National Socialist newspaper, *Svobodne Slovo*, called for a non-party cabinet and "a government of experts" to run the elections. President Benes, recognizing the anti-democratic substance of this project, rejected it.

The next step was the resignation of the National Socialist, Catholic and Slovak Democrat ministers, leaving the government in the hands of the Communists and a badly split Socialist Party. The pro-West Socialists wanted the Socialist ministers to stop cooperating with the Communists but such pro-East party leaders as former Premier Zdenek Fierlinger announced the death of the "national

front" of five parties and called ambiguously for the creation of a new front "from below."

On February 21, workers' delegations demanded that Benes accept the resignations of the ministers. The next day delegates from the Trades Unions Congress, supporting this request, accused the old coalition of obstructing socialization. In a struggle for power within the Socialist Party, Fierlinger defeated the more conservative elements, winning control for those willing to cooperate with the Communists.

Moving fast. Then Communist "action committees" began occupying ministries, seizing government offices in provincial cities as well as Prague. But unlike developments in other countries behind the Iron Curtain, the Communists had the support of these committees, it is reported, of members of other parties, trade unionists, farm and religious-group representatives.

At this point the story becomes unclear, and one of the keys to it—Benes' real attitude—is still missing as we go to press. Those who believe Czech democracy is dead point to the fact that Premier Klement Gottwald remains in power with the all-important Justice portfolio added to those of the Interior, Police and Information.

Those who take the opposite view call attention to the fact that at least in name and form the government remains a five-party coalition, theoretically responsible to Parliament. They say Benes would not have remained in office if a full-blown police state were being created.

When Benes inducted Gottwald into office a few days ago, he spoke of a "new form of democracy" taking shape and hoped its results would be "favorable for all." But there are reports that the opinions he expressed

privately were quite different. The new "democracy" involves the role of the "action committees," and it is too soon to judge how democratic a parliamentary regime which is at their mercy can be.

Fear of Germany. Two facts are important: The Czechs fear a revival of Germany as much as, if not more than, they do the Soviets; all Czech parties want socialism, differing only in means of attaining it.

Progress toward socialism, it is charged by those Czechs who are willing to give the "new form" a chance to prove itself, has been slowed in recent months by obstructionism of minority parties seeking to improve their positions. They want the opponents of further nationalization of industry to be muzzled, and see this as a primary goal of the "action committees."

On the international issues, these same persons maintain, many Czechs have come to fear that the Marshall Plan is giving priority to German rehabilitation, and hence threatening Czech security. Their alarm was heightened when US Ambassador

Lawrence Steinhardt, returning to Prague after three months in the US, predicted that Czechoslovakia would soon be participating in the Marshall Plan, which is interpreted to mean helping rebuild Germany and challenging the Soviet Union.

The Soviets, this argument runs, have not only the power of proximity, but the prestige of having offered help to Prague after Munich, a fact few Czechs can ever forget.

Moreover, since the war, Washington and London have given Prague little help beyond UNRRA allotments. One \$50 million loan and another large credit were negotiated by the US and then withdrawn, apparently for political reasons. The State Department is said to have forbidden Friendship Train gifts of food to Czechoslovakia, and many Czechs feel the department long ago wrote off their country as a dead loss.

Many Czechs are said to be disturbed because the US reaction to the recent events took the form of participation with Britain and France in a denunciatory statement. There was no encouragement to democratic forces, no offer to help them. These

Czechs say if their democracy survives, it will be not with the help of the US but despite it.

Yet others appear to believe that if even shreds of democratic process and of civil liberties can survive in their country under the present and quickly developing circumstances, Czechoslovakia will be helping democracy everywhere. Already, they feel, their experience has had important international effects.

Warning to the West. The circumstances of the start of the Czech crisis contain an explicit warning to those middle-of-the-road democratic forces in France, Italy and elsewhere which are struggling to hold off totalitarianism of either the extreme Right or extreme Left. The demand of the Czech National Socialists for a non-party "caretaker" government of experts may have been—depending on the angle of vision—a justification or a pretext for the actions of the Communists. But, timed as it was, at a moment when the Communists were poised to exploit just such evidence of a "plot" allegedly fostered by "foreign reactionaries," it led to a serious setback for the Czech segment of "the third force."

There is no doubt that US public opinion has been alarmed by the events in Czechoslovakia. Those members of Congress who, in an election year, have been lukewarm to ERP because they represent isolationist areas may change their minds and their votes. So far as the form of ERP is concerned, it is likely that Senator Vandenberg and Representative Herter will profit. With Czechoslovakia more obviously within the Soviet sphere than before, the opposition to an ERP stressing the role of Germany may decrease. From the liberal viewpoint, this is the danger to be faced while every effort is made to get Congress to adopt a measure that will give Europe a chance to start on the road back to economic reconstruction.



DRAWN FOR NEW REPUBLIC BY H. C. DETJEN



DRAWING BY LIND WARD

REVOLT IN THE SOUTH

UNIVERSAL RESPECT FOR, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion." That's what we're committed to, by Article 55 of the Charter of the United Nations.

To carry out our international obligations, and to rid America of the economic wastage and the "moral dry rot" caused by prejudice, discrimination and violation of our civil liberties, the President's Committee on Civil Rights proposed that America move forward on three fronts, legislative executive and judicial, to secure our rights.

The committee proposed a broad program for civil rights. A part of this program was forwarded by President Truman to Congress, with recommendation for action during the 1948 session.

The President's program is national. It calls for home rule for the District of Columbia; statehood for Hawaii and Alaska; settlement of the claims of Japanese Americans on the West

Coast; and enfranchisement of 100,000 Indians in New Mexico and Arizona.

But five key measures strike at conditions in the South which Thomas Sancton, in this issue, describes as unchanged since the days of John C. Cal-

CIVIL RIGHTS: The 1948 Objectives

houn. And, as Helen Fuller shows, Calhoun's 1948 counterparts are ready to break up the Democratic Party in order to stop these measures, which would guarantee protection against lynching, abolition of the poll tax, the prevention of discrimination in employment and in transportation, and the strengthening of the terms and the enforcement of existing civil-rights statutes.

These measures most Southern Democrats will fight by threats and

filibusters. In the past, Republicans worked in an undercover alliance with Southern conservatives, paying lip-service to civil-rights legislation, nominally opposing the filibusters, always making certain that just enough Republicans would join the Southerners to defeat any motion for cloture that threatened to bring the legislation to a vote.

This time the Republican Policy Committee is firmly committed to passage of civil-rights legislation. If the Republicans and the Administration are in earnest, then in the four remaining months of this session Congress can pass the civil-rights program as well as ERP, a housing bill and other necessary legislation. The background, the nature and the prospects for the five measures follow.

"Lynching," says the President's committee, "is the ultimate threat by which his inferior status is driven home to the Negro. As a terrorist device it reinforces all the other disabilities placed upon him."

Since the days when James Weldon Johnson began his fight on lynching in 1922, anti-lynching bills have been passed by the House and killed by filibuster in the Senate. The original measure was directed simply against officials who participated in lynchings. The new bill, introduced in the House by Republican Representative Clifford Case of New Jersey, and in the Senate by Wayne Morse and Robert F. Wagner, is directed against the lynchers. It derives its broader powers from Article 55 of the UN Charter and from the historic inability of the states to take action. This inability is confirmed by the President's committee.

The Case bill makes participation in a lynching a federal crime punishable by heavy prison terms and fines. There is hope that within a few weeks it will get to the floor of the House and be passed. It faces a filibuster in the Senate, where there are more than enough votes for cloture if the Republicans and Northern Democrats are firm. The Administration, doubtful of the constitutionality of the Case bill, may put in its own measure. There is real danger that Senator Taft, traditionally opposed to federal sanctions against individuals, may swing the Republicans behind the weak bill of Senator Hawkes of New Jersey, which simply strengthens the existing criminal code.

Among all nations, America, Portugal and Peru still have a poll tax. It was imposed in the South at the turn of this century to keep the Populists from voting. In the 1946 election, 33 percent of the voting population voted in the no-poll-tax states. Eight percent voted in four Southern states in which the poll tax had been repealed. The percentages in the seven poll-tax states were Alabama, six; Arkansas, eight; Mississippi, two; South Carolina, one; Tennessee, seven; Texas, five; Virginia, eight.

The anti-poll-tax bill is short and simple. It prohibits the collection of any tax as a prerequisite to voting in primary or general election for federal officials. This is the fifth such bill. The first died in a House committee; the

second, third and fourth passed the House and were killed by filibuster in the Senate. On the fifth bill, passed in the House last July, the Senate Republicans have promised "early action." A filibuster is due, and the two-thirds vote for cloture should be easily won. The alliance with Southern conservatives is no longer as valuable to Republicans as in the days when they were struggling to stop the New Deal's reforms for the North. Passage of the anti-lynching and anti-poll-tax bills by the first Republican Congress since 1932 will make a strong record for 1948.

The FEPC hits hardest of all at segregation in the South. Unlike legislation against lynching and the poll tax, it attacks powerful interests in the North, including most corporations and some trade unions.

In wartime, the Fair Employment Practice Committee served as a clearing house for complaints, and offered mediation. In spite of having no enforcement powers and no recourse to the courts, it worked satisfactorily, and in June, 1946, died when Congress refused to renew its appropriation. But four states—New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts and Connecticut—established state FEPC's.

Based on the New York State law, Senator Ives's bill prohibits job discrimination by employers or unions. The commission it creates is directed to use conciliation first, then to issue orders to desist, enforceable by the courts. The Senate Labor Committee has approved the bill despite Taft's opposition. But in both Senate and House, opposition to any action in this session is strong. In the absence of pressure, the FEPC will be tabled this year.

Twenty of our states compel segregation in some form. Segregation on railroads was compulsory in 14 states and authorized in two states. The Supreme Court ruled that the enforcement of these laws was unconstitutional in cases affecting interstate commerce. Some state officials continue to enforce the laws. In all cases railroads

and bus lines are free to segregate passengers on their own initiative.

"Congress," reported the President's committee, "has complete power under the Constitution to forbid all forms of segregation in interstate commerce. We believe it should make prompt use of it." The President has recommended action. One bill is already before a committee of the House. The Southern farmers are threatening a fight. There is time during this session to complete hearings and pass the bill. The Republicans are not committed to action.

A policeman beats up or kills a Negro suspect; a man is threatened with violence if he dares to vote; a sharecropper and his family are held in peonage; each year, for every Negro lynched, a hundred others have been in peril of their lives. Seven men in the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice are responsible for action on behalf of the US. They must work mainly with two post-Civil War statutes of the US Criminal Code which protect Americans from interference with their civil rights.

And, as the eight-percent vote in 1946 in Florida, Georgia, Louisiana and North Carolina showed, protection of the right to vote goes far beyond abolishing the poll tax. It includes guarantees that voting will be held in public places, free of intimidation and subterfuges such as literacy tests.

The President's committee called for the strengthening of the machinery for protecting civil rights and for the enactment of new statutes specifically directed against police brutality, peonage and any interference by public officers or private persons with the right to vote in federal primaries and elections. Measures in line with these recommendations have been proposed and can be passed during this session.

So, in four short months, 1948 can be made a great year for civil-rights legislation. And "the achievement of full civil rights in law," as the President's committee says, "may do as much to end prejudice as the end of prejudice may do to achieve full civil rights."

MICHAEL STRAIGHT

CIVIL RIGHTS SPLIT THE DEMOCRATS

by Helen Fuller

HARRY TRUMAN may go down in history as the President who reorganized the Democratic Party structure. There are Democrats and Republicans who think that the civil-rights question will be the determining factor if such a realignment occurs, and that Truman may inadvertently bring about the Southern "purge" Franklin Roosevelt did not live to accomplish.

The report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights is a revolutionary document. If its recommendations become reality, lynching, the poll tax and discrimination in employment and education would be barred by federal statute, and a new and stronger federal agency for the protection of individual liberties would be created. Franklin Roosevelt called for such reforms at one time or another, but never in such uncompromising terms or in language and manner so little designed to soften the blow for the Southern members of the Democratic Party.

The two Truman proposals which arouse the most violent opposition among the states'-righters of the South are: anti-Jim Crow bills (governing interstate travel, education and employment) and an expanded civil-rights organization in the Department of Justice to enforce federal laws.

Hobson's choice. President Truman now faces a dilemma: if he does not press the fight against discrimination, he will lose whatever chance he had of regaining the Negro and minority vote; if he takes strong action, he may lose a large part of the Southern electoral vote.

When the South, led by its Governors, raised loud objections to the civil-rights program, the Democratic National Committee at first took little notice. In past election years, Southerners have usually been content with headlines proclaiming their "revolt," followed by a brief period of pouting, before they quietly voted the straight ticket again on election day. This time

the "revolt" has started months before convention time, and its leaders are not political unknowns, but the Democratic state organization leaders themselves.

Coming simultaneously with Henry Wallace's victory over the Flynn machine in the Bronx, the developments were most disquieting to the national Democratic leadership, and the Republicans' glee at their opportunity to turn the civil-rights issue to Democratic disadvantage also helped to plunge party headquarters into deep gloom.

Four Southern Governors, representing eleven states, came to Washington in an avowed attempt to force Democratic National Chairman J. Howard McGrath to repudiate the high-principled program laid down by President Truman. They quickly recruited 52 Southern Representatives to back them up in their fight against the National Committee. They then began to put the pressure on Chairman McGrath.

Uneasy peacemakers. Clearly the Democratic National Committee has no intention of throwing away its chance to win the Negro and minority vote by appearing to back down from the President's program. But at the same time, Chairman McGrath will not overlook any possibility of softening the Southerners' wrath.

Ever since the onset of the present revolt, enlightened Southerners like Senator John J. Sparkman (D, Ala.) have been going about the South trying to soothe tempers and reassure their fellow Democrats that a party platform agreeable to all will finally be worked out at Philadelphia. But certain Southern congressmen seem more concerned about their own influence than about the survival in power of the Democratic Party. After all, in past years the Republican-Southern Democrat congressional coalition has not been too uncomfortable an arrangement for the boys from Dixie.

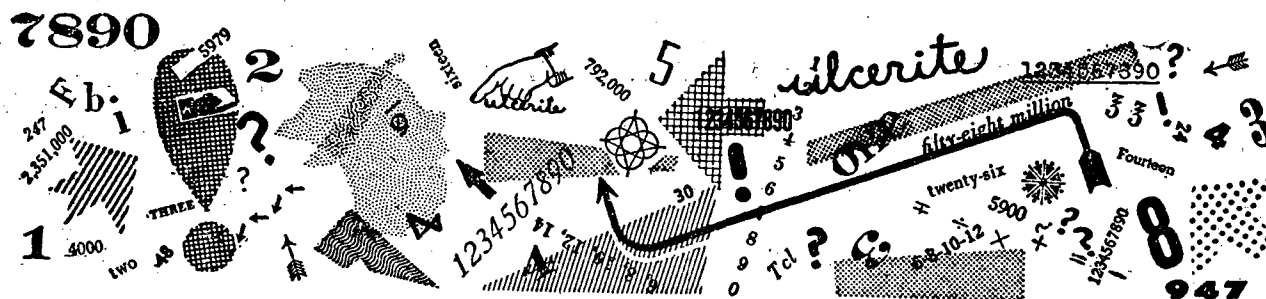
Southern-bloc leaders are now pri-

vately trying to negotiate with the Republicans. These poll-tax statesmen, who still do not need to consider the wishes of their constituents, could and would withhold the electoral votes of five or six Southern states from Truman and the Democratic Party if the Republicans would make it worth their while. That is, if the Republicans would agree to allow the Southerners to filibuster to death key anti-white-supremacy legislation pending in this Congress.

The man who will decide whether to make such a deal is Robert A. Taft. He must decide whether he has more to gain by passing a series of civil-liberties measures, or by taking away 50-to-100 much-needed electoral votes from Truman. The first would help Taft's chances of nomination. The second might clinch the election for the GOP in a close race.

Taft's associates in both houses of Congress state flatly that they have the Senator's word that he will pass an anti-lynch bill and an anti-poll-tax bill before this session adjourns. He has made no promises concerning the remainder of Truman's 10-point program. According to Senate rules, debate can be ended by only a two-thirds vote in favor of limiting discussion to one hour per member. There is no question that Senator Taft has the votes he needs to win cloture—and cloture would assure the passage of anti-lynching, anti-poll-tax and any other civil-liberties measures he desires.

To the hills! The thought of Taft's forcing through such politically potent legislation is keeping the Democratic chiefs awake nights. The Southerners might get over Truman's "insults" to the South if they were not repeated in the party platform for '48. But if the Administration openly supports Taft and helps to break the Southern filibuster, the Southerners will probably feel honor-bound to bolt the party. If the Administration ducks the cloture issue, Negro and minority leaders are not likely to support Truman. This is the dilemma that now haunts Chairman McGrath and his more politically farsighted colleagues.



DRAWING BY GERTRUDE GOODRICH

Strategic Materials

A story by Irving Brant

THIS is his office. . . . You want to know the population of the United States? The exact population? Why, we might be able to look it up. . . . Mr. Rushinsky . . . Dexter 2922. . . . Just hold the phone.

What is it?

That's funny, Lieutenant. Fellow named Rushinsky wants the exact population of the United States. That isn't restricted information, is it?

Of course not. My God, what do people think Naval Intelligence is for? Rushinsky, did you say? Look in the directory and see who he is.

Yes, sir . . . Rubinstein . . . Rutabago . . . Rushinsky . . . Ivan Rushinsky, works for the Duodenal Corporation of America.

Strategic materials. Hmm. Exact population. I don't see any connection. . . . Rushinsky . . . I think we'd better. . . . Give him the information, Ensign. Then turn his name in.

Mr. Rushinsky?

Yes. Won't you come in?

We are from the FBI. We just want some information—it's only a routine check-up.

Yes, sir.

Your name is Ivan Rushinsky?

Yes.

You work for the Duodenal Corporation of America?

Yes, I'm a foreman.

Making what?

Ulcerite.

Oh yes, quite a valuable war material. How is it used?

It is the fissioning agency in the catalysis of TCL.

TCL?

Tricotyledonous dolomite.

Oh yes, of course. A pretty powerful explosive, after TNT.

About like croton oil after prune juice.

Mr. Rushinsky, what was your father's name?

Ivan Rushinsky.

And your mother?

Maggie O'Doyle.

Well, you're half-American, anyway. Where was your father born?

Brooklyn. My mother in Australia.

Who was your grandfather?

I had two.

I mean your father's father.

Ivan Rushinsky.

Born where?

Brooklyn.

You are sure your father and grandfather were born in Brooklyn?

Why, yes. We call Brooklyn our woodlot. You know, the family tree grows in Brooklyn.

Where was your grandfather's father born?

I don't know.

In the United States?

I don't know. He was killed when my grandfather was five years old.

Killed, how?

In the Battle of Bull Run.

Oh.

I think he was born in Europe because he taught my grandfather a little song and it has come down in the family. The words are probably wrong, but it goes: "Ya mom cunya, Vranee cunya, Tusso cunya me."

Russian, isn't it?

No, Bohemian. Something about a wild horse, my grandfather said.

What party do you belong to?

Well, I was a Republican until 1932, and I voted that way again in 1940. I didn't like this third-term idea. In '44 . . . well, you don't change

horses right in the middle of a war.

Mr. Rushinsky, why are you interested in the population of America?

Because I am an American. Shouldn't everybody be?

I mean, why did you call the Naval office last Tuesday and ask to know the exact population?

How did you know that?

I just happened to be there. That isn't why I came here, of course.

Well, I made a bet with a guy that the last three digits of the population would add up to less than fifteen. We didn't have a *World Almanac* and this fellow had been in the Navy and thought it would bring him luck if we asked there.

You didn't believe in luck?

No, I was relying on the law of probabilities. You see, most people forget that ten isn't a digit. If you swing zero to the other end of the column there are six digits from five down, and only four the other way—

Well, we'll be going. Just forget about our visit. We're doing a check-up of all the key men making ulcerite, and you're absolutely in the clear.

Did you hear about Rushinsky? The FBI called on him last week.

The hell they did. How do you know?

He told me so himself. Just laughed about it. Said they were checking up on everybody in ulcerite.

The hell they are. They haven't checked on me.

Nor on me.

Rushinsky's all right. I'd trust him inside the office safe.

So would I. Funny little song he's always singing. Father must have picked it up in the old country.

Hear about Rushinsky?

Yes. I don't believe it. That guy's all right.

Rushinsky. . . .

FBI. . . .

Rushinsky. . . .

FBI. . . .

Here, Mr. Jackson, I've picked out the best ten men in the plant. I had to take three out of ulcerite, though it's hard to spare them. Rushinsky. . . .

Jim, I've been intending to speak to you about him. There's a lot of talk going around.

The FBI cleared him.

Yes, but cleared him of what? We don't even know. They must have had some reason for being suspicious. Where does he stand in the union?

Right wing.

Suppose he was planted. Isn't that just where he would go?

I know. I had a little hesitancy about this transfer.

Then don't make it. The Duodenal Corporation of America can't afford to take chances on national security.

Is Product X any more secret than ulcerite?

That's just what I was coming to. If we can't trust a man enough to transfer him, we can't trust him where he is. I want you to get rid of Rushinsky. Not for disloyalty, of course. And give him a good letter. We don't want to hurt him.

Sorry, Mr. Rushinsky, no openings.

Sorry, Rushinsky, you don't quite fit our needs.

Yes, they say you're a good man. But why did they let you out?

To put it plainly, Rushinsky, Old Man Jackson wouldn't fire a competent man unless he had some reason. Did the FBI ever investigate you?

Sorry, Rushinsky.

Sorry, Rushinsky.

Come right in, Mr. Rushinsky. . . . Just fill out this application while I fix up your card. . . . Ivan Rushinsky, born in Brooklyn, son of Ivan Rushinsky, born in Brooklyn, and Maggie O'Doyle, born in Australia. . . . Here's your card, Comrade Rushinsky. You can go right to work.

SLOWLY CRUMBLING LEVEES

Facing currents set up by the New Deal and the war, the Old South uses old fears and the "cold war" to fight civil rights for Negroes **by Thomas Sancton**

THROUGHOUT THE SOUTH today, in every background, the emergence of a large class of serious-looking, neatly dressed, intelligent Negroes has become increasingly apparent.

Southern Negroes have eaten better food and lived a freer life during the war. A whole generation of Negro children has grown up in improved economic circumstances. The slovenly dress that not so many years back was the frequent result of wages of \$2.50 or \$3 a week for a woman cook, \$1 a day for a laborer, has become a rare sight in the places where the average Southern white person sees the average Southern Negro.

The familiar rags and hand-me-downs, the scuffed, unlaced shoes, the improvised hats—these and many other significant details have largely vanished from the scene. The flagrant gaps between the races in matters of dress, health, social attitudes and economic opportunity have somewhat narrowed.

During the war many whites were frightened by this growing economic emancipation, and they managed to convince themselves that it was some sort of spontaneous Negro upheaval. But now that the war is over, the average white person, it seems to me, unconsciously approves the results. At the same time, the old, popular assumptions about Negro inferiority have less evidence to rest on. And as a consequence, I believe that Southern whites, if left to their individual thinking and initiative, would accept without much excitement the extension of the rights of American citizenship to Negroes.

Yet no group that holds great political and economic advantages is

likely to sit by doing nothing while fundamental reforms are worked which are certain to challenge their control. The Southern influential classes are brilliant and ruthless at this business, and they have a repertory of methods that have been perfected through a century of intensive use. Their achievement in maintaining their position generation after generation is something of a political miracle. Eighty-five years after the Emancipation Proclamation, for example, Southern Negroes have still to achieve all of the basic political and economic rights, except release from actual slavery. Today the Southern leadership has set itself the task of trying to turn back the clock on the Negro's wartime and New Deal development.

The dead past. What is missing in Southern thinking generally—and perhaps it is missing in thinking all over the world—is an awareness of the extraordinary nature of the age we live in. It is possible today to discover in speeches in Southern legislatures, or even on the floor of Congress, basic ideas about race, economics, education, law courts, penology, etc., that can be found almost word for word in the speeches of John C. Calhoun and other politicians who fought out these primitive battles of American politics a hundred years ago.

In the current session of the Mississippi legislature, for example, a bill to revise a 140-year-old blue law in order to permit movies to be shown on Sundays between one and six in the afternoon was defeated. Not long ago a bill to abolish the lash in the state penitentiary was defeated. The lash statute describes in detail how a prisoner is to be whipped—laid over a table in such and such a manner, whipped with a six-foot strap of such

A Southerner by birth, Thomas Sancton, former AP staff member, Nieman Fellow and New Republic editor, is now living in Mississippi.

and such a width (a strap known to prisoners and ex-prisoners all over the state as "Black Annie"). In most Southern states packs of well trained bloodhounds are still maintained, and every few weeks or so the dogs are sniffing and barking along the trail of some suspect or criminal, or innocent victim.

Such scenes as this illuminated and horrified the readers of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and Whitman's slavery poems before the Civil War. As a matter of fact, one of the most universal experiences of Southern life, the spectacle of a neatly dressed individual automatically hanging back at the rear of a crowd, or standing hat in hand waiting to be noticed, or going through a special door marked for the lower caste, is an astonishing anachronism.

Last winter a very old woman was buried in a Mississippi churchyard not far from where I live. She was 96 years old, perhaps the last person alive who remembered in a clearheaded way the details and the abundant harsh realities of plantation life before the Civil War. I was fortunate enough to exchange letters with her in the last years of her life, and to read her fragmentary memories dictated to a relative.

She could have been termed a "progressive," certainly more progressive than politicians half her age who repine for past glories which she actually remembered with considerable irony. But the most dramatic aspect of her life—an aspect of which she was well aware—was the fact that it had spanned the most incredible technological age of history.



In her lifetime the science of microscopy had developed and the germ theory had given mankind its first idea of the nature and causes of illness. Chemistry, physics and astronomy had stripped aside the veil upon the mystery of matter; physics had passed from Newton to wave mechanics, and finally to Einstein and Hiroshima.

This old lady had actually seen the bombardment of Fort Sumter, and in her lifetime warfare had developed from the muzzle-loading cannon to the fourth-dimensional horrors that fill the press today. But over her 96 years, dominant Southern political leadership changed not at all. On the day she died, the fundamental principles of "white supremacy" politics were the same as on the day she was born.

A gap in time. This great abyss which has opened between the world of antiquated theories and the world as it is, is still the Devil's Cauldron where the old-time leadership is stewing up the old-time formula of race hate, militarism and states' rights. This brew has served to poison human sympathies and drug intelligence sufficiently in the past to set the Southern people, the majority of whom are almost as poor as the Negroes, against the very political and economic developments which would help them.

The dominant aspect of life in the South today is the blasting volume of propaganda which has been turned loose through newspapers, radio, politicians, "service" clubs, chambers of commerce, the person-to-person contacts of the barbershop and street corner. Its objective is to prevent economic and racial democracy from sweeping into the South, and to erect new psychological levees behind the legal ones that are crumbling.

I believe that if by some miracle the average white Southerner could be free to form his views of race relations out of the experiences of his own life, the race problem would quickly fade away. But the enforced servility of the Negro people—automatically holding at least as many poor whites in a degraded role—has been the brick and mortar from which the whole economy was



built. Therefore in the South no white man has the right not to fear the Negro. He is made to understand, from beyond the memories of childhood, that any suggestion of Negro humanity and worth is a threat against something called race purity. By the time he grows old enough to see that it is rather a threat to factory investments, to cotton profits, to cheap servant labor, he has lost the capacity to see it.

Other fundamental complications have also been at work. For twenty years or so he has been looking at the results of Negro poverty. When he reaches maturity, he can no longer distinguish the results of poverty from the causes. By this time life has made him an official and conforming "Southerner." He adheres to the religion of race purity in a deeper psychological process than he adheres to his actual religion, or to his belief in democracy. He, too, has made himself into a kind of mortar to keep old economic and political institutions stuck together.

If he is the average Southerner—I do not mean the average middle-class Southerner—he does not benefit from this economy. His income is low in comparison with that of other regions. His schools, his hospitals, his living standards are poorer. It could be demonstrated to him that an open political



DRAWINGS BY GETZ

democracy for white and Negro, bi-racial unions, high minimum wages for both races, would create a producing and consuming South that would immeasurably improve his own lot. Every experience of his life, unemotionally interpreted, and particularly his contacts with Negroes, tends to teach him this. But his logic usually can be swept away by an opposition which evokes the race fears injected and reinjected since childhood.

First threat. The manner in which this psychological headlock has kept the common people of the South from sustained political action toward progressive ends finds classic illustration in the fate of the Populist movement which swept the South in the 1890's.

The Populist program (working in alliance with Western farmers in the new People's Party) struck out for broad social and economic reforms, such as federal crop warehouses and federal loans to free farmers from the exhausting mortgage rates of private bankers. For almost a decade this appeal drew Southern whites in great numbers from reactionary Democratic state machines. Even many planter spokesmen in Congress were forced for a time to liberalize their oratory and endorse Populist slogans. If the movement had held together, it would inevitably have created the political metamorphosis which the South has been so long awaiting. It might have created the most progressive statesmanship in

America. The South is a region of obsolescent economic methods and of poor people. Certainly a leadership which truly reflected the needs of the great majority of Southerners would be at the opposite pole from the bitter, die-hard reaction which is the creed of Southern politicians today.

But feudalism has a dynamic capacity to perpetuate itself and to smother challenge. It did not take the controlling group long to find ways to get at the Populist movement with the race legend—the legend by which a generation earlier they had induced poor whites to fight four years for the perpetuation of slavery. The poor white farmers were told that a party which identified itself with and endorsed the needs of Negro farmers as indivisible from the needs of white farmers, would lift the Negro ultimately to political dominance and result in the mongrelization of the Southern white race.

Leaders of the white farmers who had begun their careers as impressive figures and with a genuine understanding of the dedication to Populist principles, began to alter subtly with the passing of time. Almost to the last man, their emphasis changed from progressive economic objectives to a malignant agitation of "the nigger issue" as a means of holding the political offices to which they had grown accustomed. Many of the old Populist leaders at the close of their careers were stalwarts of the Democratic machines they had once bucked. The careers of Ben Tillman of South Carolina, Tom Watson in Georgia, J. K. Vardaman in Mississippi followed this course. Senator Bilbo, who started his career as Vardaman's protégé, followed this identical pattern in his own day.

Second threat. The realities of world developments of the past 15 years have brought many stimulating influences into the South and into the thinking of many Southerners. Political reactionaries are now faced with increasing popular lethargy about the race question—even sympathy for extending citizenship to Negroes. This growing maturity on the part of many

Southerners has combined with recent far-reaching Supreme Court decisions to present entrenched political and financial groups with a challenge as serious as—and ultimately far more serious than—the Populist movement.

The depression and the war boom brought federal agencies and government money into the South, reaching a flood tide during the war. This loosened the old economic pattern in which a small group had no money, and a large group sat by eager to work for \$1.25 a day. The war also carried millions of Southerners, white and black, to other parts of the country and the world, to return with a broadened outlook.

Hundreds of Northern factories have moved southward—most of them primarily to exploit the surviving feudalistic advantages of the region—but organizers of a vigorous union movement, often bi-racial in principle, followed in their path. Supreme Court decisions, fair-employment directives, similar documents of page-one importance even in the South, have carried some fundamental facts and ideas about race relations even into the remotest counties.

Here and there college teachers, church women, even an occasional lawyer or businessman, discovered and absorbed the basic ideas of modern ethnology widely disseminated in wartime to counter Hitler's race propaganda. On the other side of the race line, the activities of the NAACP and the Negro press poured an unending stream of information through the post office from which Negro lawyers, teachers, businessmen and students built up a psychology of careful but inexorable effort through federal courts.

During the general turmoil of the war years, there was a sharp retrogression in race outlook among the whites. Propaganda of extreme viciousness swept the region; race-riot rumors flared occasionally in every big city; and many well meaning whites were stampeded back to racism. But many others—a smaller group—were only confirmed in their growing racial understanding by the senselessness and

destructiveness of this wartime development. Peace brought a general moderation of the hysterical element. Stories of the mythical "Eleanor Clubs," of apocalyptic warnings reportedly muttered by Negroes on buses and in department stores, passed almost completely from the conversation of the middle class.

Cold, dark war. If war had been followed by a clean and general settlement, I believe that inevitable and long delayed civil-rights concessions to Negroes would have gone forward in the South rather quickly. But, instead, we have passed into the cold war with Russia. The psychological results of this conflict are already overwhelmingly evident in Southern life. There can be little doubt that these expedient results of militarism—the increased facility for steam-rolling and shouting down honest American and Democratic and constitutional developments—are not accidental by-products of a foreign policy but, so far as Southern politicians are concerned, a part of foreign policy.

Frightful images of "Russia," "Communism," "The Atom Bomb," are blasted at the Southern mind from every quarter. Every public utterance and every second editorial comes up with fresh warnings about the onslaught being prepared in the great, ominous world beyond the Mason-Dixon line against "white civilization." The threat seems to issue from Washington and the Democratic Party as much as it does from Moscow. Here and there a lone voice speaks up in protest; a weekly newspaper publishes a rational editorial; a preacher or a rabbi talks good sense.

On the whole, people in the street remain indifferent for a long time to the white-hot crusades of Governors, Senators and other embattled champions. But any issue, no matter how unrelated to the tranquil and humble realities of town life, eventually gives the citizen's mind its coloring when it is all his mind has to feed upon. And so this agitation has succeeded, in the case of great numbers of Southerners, in making a cruel amalgam of the

Russian question and the race question, and has convinced many that the cure for "Democracy" and for keeping Negroes in their place, for high prices, for scarce housing, is a war with Russia, which is somehow causing all these difficulties.

In a barber shop not long ago I heard the radio news commentator say that "Russia is spending seven percent of her income on education while the United States is spending only one and a half percent for this purpose."

The men in the barber shop were welders, farmers, fishermen, clerks—men who ordinarily have a great respect for education, wanting it for their children, sensitive to their own lack. But even these innocuous statistics were received with agitation, as though the item discussed was poison gas or the atom bomb instead of education.

Hope in the South. The quest of civil liberties in the South—like every other question, and perhaps the very existence of a habitable planet—lies under the shadow of the atom bomb and the future. If it were unrelated to this stupendous element, its development might be fairly predictable. I have seen Negroes standing in line to vote in Mississippi and not a man in the crowd seemed upset by the fact or even overly conscious of it. Some troublemaker might have set off upon a harangue and changed the mood. But in the face of increasingly forthright Supreme Court decisions and Department of Justice commitments to enforce them, harangues at the polls are becoming rarer.

The whole civil-rights program hangs upon the right to vote. Once that right is established, politicians will adjust to it, as they are adjusting in places where it has been won. And by adjustment I mean the cessation of malignant and irrelevant agitation of an emotional question which is utterly remote from the economic and political needs of Southern people. In the old days many of the "aristocrats" in Congress adjusted for a time to the Populist program. But they did not stay adjusted. This time, by the grace



of Supreme Court rulings which stick, they will eventually adjust or return to private life.

There is a final point that must be touched on in any discussion of civil rights, though theoretically it is irrelevant. And that is the question of social equality and "race purity." The more one sifts day-to-day realities from the jungle of legends and suppositions, the more it is apparent that a fundamental extension of civil rights could take place without loss to the white Southerners of one scintilla of the "race purity" they now have. There can never be intimate social relationships or intermarriage between two groups when one is profoundly and emotionally determined that it shall not take place. But keeping the other group from any exercise of the citizenship which organic law guarantees them, or barring them from educational opportunities which their tax dollars help provide, are not remotely necessary to keep the races separate in their social choices.

Wealthy white Southerners do not as a rule marry poor ones; perhaps not one Southern member of the Junior League has ever married a practising sharecropper, though they are the same Anglo-Saxon offshoot of the same Caucasian race. I know of one woman, in fact, who restrained her son from marrying outside the "North Mississippi Baptist Convention." That seems to me to come very close to saying the last word on intermarriage; but not on civil liberties and American democracy.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

RUSSIA WITHOUT RANCOR

by Richard Lauferbach

THREE THINGS should be said right off about Edward Crankshaw's *Russia and the Russians* (Viking, \$3) and Sir John Maynard's *Russia in Flux* (Macmillan, \$6.50). First, everyone who uses his head—to borrow a phrase of Philip Barry's—for anything but a hatrack should read them. Second, the American publishers are to be congratulated for bringing out the books in this country after their publication in England. And third, these two volumes are a sharp reminder that England, although slipping behind in tennis, steel production and sex novels, is still far ahead of us in Slavonic studies.

In this country our emphasis has too often been on passionate journalism and partisan pamphleteering. The English indulge in that sort of thing, too. But at the same time their more serious thinkers are applying themselves to the problem of understanding the Russians from a long-term point of view. In our histories, in our social and literary criticism of Russia, we have relied a good deal upon the writings of embittered emigrés. There are, of course, notable exceptions—and two that come to my mind are the late Samuel Harper of Chicago and the very lively Ernest Simmons, now at Columbia. But few American scholars have written a history or a commentary on Russia to compare with those of Mackenzie Wallace, Sir Bernard Pares, B. H. Sumner, the Webbs, or with the books of the two authors under discussion, Maynard and Crankshaw.

Chronologically, Maynard should be introduced first. Sir John, a British civil servant turned Fabian socialist, died a few years ago. He learned Russian in 1894, traveled in Central Asia before Eric Johnston was born, attended the coronation of Nicholas II in 1896, and spent more time in Russia than most American diplomats

—or reporters. He did not entirely accept the Webbs' account of life under the Soviets as a "new civilization." Out of his lifetime of observation and research Sir John wrote two great studies: *Russia in Flux*, published in Britain about ten years ago, and *The Russian Peasant and Other Studies*, which appeared in 1942. Both works, somewhat abridged, are now printed here for the first time under one title.

In full dimension. Edward Crankshaw, who evidently has been influenced in his intellectual approach to Russia by Maynard's writings, was a member of the British Military Mission in Moscow during the recent shooting war. His short, readable book should have wider popular appeal than Sir John's, which is a lengthy and scholarly history of Russian social thought. Crankshaw's *Russia and the Russians* is a full-flowered work of art, the result of an extraordinarily success-

ful grafting of creative thinking and creative writing in a field thickly weeded with black-and-white stereotypes.

Maynard and Crankshaw both take the long view on the Russian Revolution and, in fact, on the eventual outcome of current Western conflict with the Soviet Union. Maynard points out that 25 years ago four-fifths of the Russians were peasants—and that we cannot comprehend the astounding development of the USSR unless we first know how the peasants lived and thought under the Czars. Crankshaw agrees—and adds, more pointedly, that we cannot fully appreciate the limitations of the Soviet Union until we have studied the pre-1917 peasantry.

Crankshaw has a theory to explain the peasant—and therefore, the Russians. It is not as oversimple as Geoffrey Gorer's bowel-control key to Japanese character (or his recently discovered gimmick to explain the Russians—their swaddling of newborn infants). Crankshaw's purpose is stated early in his book: "... to produce a picture of the Russian people, their culture, and their political ideas, against the background of the unchanging conditions of their landscape and climate."

The plainmen. Could you make any sense of the problems of the Eskimos, Crankshaw asks, without some idea of the properties of snow and ice? Then why expect to understand the Russian without studying the great, brooding plain on which he lives? This open, windswept plain, easily invaded, difficult to defend, has completely conditioned Russia's history and her people. On it the peasant is perennially face to face with hostile elements which cannot be held off by individual initiative; he is thrown against forces which can only be beaten back by a banding together. This ne-



cessity for group action has taken various forms under the Czars and under the Soviets. But, and this is a major premise in Maynard's study, the substance does not vary greatly. In the nineteenth century the form was the *Mir*, or village commune. Today it is the collective farm.

Crankshaw utilizes the theory of the conditioning of the plain to explain practically everything about Russian character—absence of hypocrisy, flexibility of mind, boundless tolerance, breadth of spirit, and the speculative attitude toward life and death. From this analysis it is but a short step to a rationalization for the peasant's inevitable "*neechevo*" or Molotov's obdurate "*nyet*."

In brief, vividly written sections Crankshaw sketches in background information about Russian political, social and economic attitudes before 1917. Then he explains, lucidly, the effect of Marxism and Leninism on these attitudes. His capsule account of the last 30 years under the Soviets will win no hosannahs from the doctrinaire Left or from *Pravda*. On the other hand, his summation will be attacked as "pro-Russian" by the "Let's-Just-Be-Beastly-to-the-Russians" chorus. For Crankshaw does not blink the very real contributions of the Soviets.

His conclusion offers small comfort to the Earles and Bullitts. Crankshaw warns that "unless we reach a *modus vivendi* with the Russians our civilization will not survive the next critical half-century." There are, he says, two ways to reach such a *modus vivendi*—by conquest or understanding. Because he favors survival and rejects conquest as Hitlerian and anti-democratic, Crankshaw believes we must make greater and greater efforts at understanding. It does not even have to be "mutual" understanding.

Russians as people. Where Crankshaw has synthesized large chapters of the Russian story, Maynard has spelled it out, carefully documenting each syllable. His material on pre-1917 Russia is particularly valuable. Perhaps the greatest immediate service both these



DRAWINGS BY FRASCONI

authors perform is the breaking down of the dogma that the Soviet government is an iron corset squeezing the Russians into a new and fiendish look. The Russians are still human beings and so are their rulers in the Kremlin. They react not only to unfriendly winters on their internal plain but to the cold blasts from the external talk of atomic war. They have changed their course to meet realities before and they will do it again.

In the interim we are reminded that we might occupy ourselves worrying about our own flux—or the lack of it. "The danger for the English-speaking world," another brilliant Englishman wrote recently (Edward Hallett Carr in *The Soviet Impact on the Western World*), "lies perhaps most of all in its relative lack of flexibility and its tendency to rest on the laurels of past achievements. No human institution or order of society ever stands still." (Oh well, we are to have a new balcony on the White House.)

Maynard was convinced the Russians were not threatened by this same danger. "When they find that a rule does not fit life, they give preference

to life . . ." he wrote in his concluding chapter, "Personality Out of Collectivism." "Their gift for breaking rules will save them from being pedantic. For the same reason Planning will not hurt them: for they will change the Plan whenever it has gone amiss."

Sir John also emphasized the Russian lack of political democracy while recognizing their concentration of effort to achieve economic democracy. He did not even believe the Stalin Constitution (1936) was democratic ("The Russians cannot change rulers without the use of force or the violation of law") nor did he think that conditions in Russia made democracy possible. "What is aimed at," he wrote, "is a discipline which shall remake man in a new image, and the co-operation of the patient in the process of remaking. The Russian people is at school." Sir John predicted that the restrictions on freedom of thought "can only be brought to an end when the remaking is complete."

In essence this is what Stalin purportedly said to Churchill when the latter asked when Russians would be allowed to travel freely abroad. Stalin's

answer was: "When our per-capita output of pig iron is as high as yours."

The Russians seem content to wait for that day. Can we?

POWER AND GLORY

THE GREAT ONES, by Ralph Ingersoll (Harcourt, Brace and Company; \$3).

THE EX-EMPLOYEES of Henry R. Luce are forever storming into Manhattan cocktail parties to cast a contagion over the conversation. They have an exposé in their pocket, a novel in their system, or hemlock in their soul. All three, more than likely, concern their balding, bushy-browed, one-time boss.

Ralph Ingersoll renounced his cushy job as a *Time-Life* overdog to found and edit the newspaper *PM*. This is not the place for that agonizing story. Suffice it to say that when Ingersoll was eased out of his "new kind of newspaper," he took with him the last of the dash and sparkle of a noble experiment. Life now begins at 47 for Ralph Ingersoll, a brave age to start over as a novelist.

Ingersoll used to produce his *PM* editorials by pacing up and down and dictating at a furious rate. The resultant prose gave his readers the feeling of being grabbed roughly by the lapels while a hairy-chested assailant barked in their ears. The odd thing was that the shouts often made a good deal of sense; for Ingersoll was an instinctive, if apoplectic, reporter.

The Great Ones, at intervals, exudes that old-time religion. But one can't escape the hunch that Ingersoll at last has been broken to a typewriter.

Who's who. Any resemblance in *The Great Ones* to You Know Who, the author is at great pains to make clear, is purely coincidental. Imaginative genius alone could contrive the fictitious mating of Yaleman Sturges Strong, co-founder of *Facts*, the *Knowing Weekly*, with gifted Letia Long, whose ashen but well preserved beauty sweeps through the world of art, letters and politics.

The mussy chronicle of publisher Sturges Strong and career-woman Letia

Long permits Ingersoll to comment sharply on a great variety of subjects. He appears to have first-hand information about them all: Hotchkiss, speakeasies, Yale, psychoanalysis and the Racquet Club, to mention a few.

The Great Ones are, after all, only little, little people. Their sordid lives are portrayed by Ingersoll without benefit of fine prose or dramatic subtleties. The sensation is something akin to staring at a set of dirty fingernails. It is an uncomfortable book.

Success story. Ingersoll wastes little sympathy on either partner of this marital miscarriage. Yet there is a pathetic quality to Sturges Strong, sitting high up in the gleaming monument to his publishing triumphs. He is made out to be lonely and superfluous, a prisoner of his own accomplishments. Strong's contribution to his magazines was a dogged will and single-minded energy to succeed; the inspiration and talent flowed from others. When the huge success is finally achieved, Strong's single-mindedness is no longer a necessary asset. He is merely tolerated by his bright young editors, who grudgingly allow him to indulge his whim to write an occasional piece for publication. Even then they are forced to tinker with it, *Facts* style.

For these ingrates Ingersoll provides an appropriate epitaph: "They drove themselves and drove the people under them until, in their preoccupation with recording what the world was doing, they forgot the world itself."

Letia Long was obviously never meant to marry a man ordained for God, for country and for Yale. She was a lady of extraordinary talent, and the strange fact of her infatuation for Sturges Strong was based on a terrible miscalculation. She thought there must be somebody she could look up to. She looks up at a considerable number of men in Ingersoll's novel—in apartments, in Long Island mansions, on boats (both sail and power)—only to find them wanting. Little else being left her, she becomes a virgin of the intellect.

The Great Ones does an injustice to

all the Very Important People who manage to be only slightly ridiculous. Sturges Strong and Letia Long are too much of a bad thing. They congeal like cold wax under the icy breath of Ingersoll's irritation. They are, in fact, unbelievable.

The Great Ones, nevertheless, is an interesting document of the times. Among the taloned gentry of Publishing Alley it is likely to cause a flutter and titter. Ralph Ingersoll, if he chooses, may end up as the John P. Marquand of New York and Reno.

PENN KIMBALL

BEST OF THE STORIES

THE COMMON CHORD, by Frank O'Connor (Alfred A. Knopf; \$2.75).

A LONG FOURTH AND OTHER STORIES, by Peter Taylor (Harcourt, Brace; \$3).

THE WALL OF DUST, by Hallam Tennyson (The Viking Press; \$2.50).

THE WORLD of Frank O'Connor is the small Irish town and may be already familiar to readers of *Crab-Apple Jelly*, published several years ago. The "common chord" in the present stories is sex: not merely love-making, but sex in all its personal and social manifestations from puppy love to the inheritance of family property. The term may be here extended, in fact, to all those elements in life not included in that other dominant force—the Church.

The stories take place between these two positives; either in their natural conflict, or in their sometimes unholy alliance, as when the puritanism of Irish Catholicism provides the women with a weapon for sexual tyranny. At the same time, O'Connor is sensitive and skillful enough to discern and demonstrate how these two elements are combined in his most genial characters. He appreciates the traditional pieties and scruples of the formal code when "life had rubbed [a man's] principles down considerably" and produced a fine patina of urbane humanity.

A reliable key to O'Connor's attitude toward his subject is the absence of satire where satire is all but irresistible. It gives his work depth that

he understands how all elements—whether ludicrous, superstitious or sentimental—are merged in the temper of his characters and of his community. He is concerned with them as they are, and this sympathy places even the absurdities in proportion, so that when others might ridicule or overplay it for laughs, he can write breezily of a zealous nun: "Having been for years the bosom friend of a dotty old parish priest who had been favored with visions of the Blessed Virgin, she was now collecting evidence to get him beatified. She had cut up and distributed his nightshirts among the poor, and they had worked some remarkable cures."

In this way, too, he shows how the parochialism of the Irish towns makes for a distinct community spirit, inevitable to the climate and structure of the society, and not as mere insularity of stifling clannishness. It is crucial, in this connection, that O'Connor's priests come off extraordinarily well. He shows how, through the medium of the confessional, the priest keeps the town's conscience, and with the advantage of this peculiar insight, arbitrates among his parishioners. He understands the bullying paternalism of such a position, but he understands also the human loneliness of the priest. Even further, he realizes that the clerical vocation is natural to deep instincts of the Irish temperament, and he slyly remarks that "there are more spoiled priests than ever went into seminaries."

These are the stories of a man who knows what he's about. His knowledge of his subject almost convinces us of powers of divination, and it is a subject of uncommon interest. For that, for his humanity, for his rough wit and for his swift, sure skill, I would certainly recommend them as the best stories I have seen in a year.

Transition. Peter Taylor's first book, *A Long Fourth and Other Stories*, includes seven stories that appeared originally in the *Sewanee, Southern, Kenyon* and *Partisan* reviews. Their subject is described as "the contemporary, urban, middle-class world of the upper South," and it is true that, while each

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story treats an extremely individual instance, the volume documents a place and a time.

It is a world of disintegrating loyalties and values. One extreme is expressed by the obsessively nostalgic Uncle Jake (in "The Scoutmaster") "saying that it was our great misfortune to have been born in these latter days when the morals and manners of the country had been corrupted." Corrupted, of course, because of "our failure to heed the teachings and ways of our forefathers." At the other end of the scale is Josie ("The Fancy Woman"), who recognized the possibility of exploiting the world of money and leisure, but failed because "she'd never made a good thing of people." Her precarious situation between two worlds is expressed in her rueful self-consolation: "Thank your stars you're white."

A more complex example is the little girl (of "A Spinster's Tale") who grows up, among father, brother and uncles, in the male world of privilege and dissipation. When she deals a successful blow at their common

"brutality," she is "frightened by the thought of the cruelty which I found I was capable of, a cruelty which seemed inextricably mixed with what I had called courage."

Though naturally uneven, since they have been written over the first ten years of the writer's career, these stories are unusually fine. They include a variety of character and incident in a unity of well rendered background. In the prevailing tone of the stories, there is something of the nostalgia, something of the precariousness, and something of the cruelty that I have indicated—what Taylor refers to in one place as "the inconsolable desolation of childhood."

"Problem." In *The Wall of Dust* the stories are not, as above, of a particular milieu, but display a unity of theme: the disparity between intellectual and emotional conviction, or the embarrassed malaise of the character who finds himself incapable of a full human response to what he had taken as his ideals. At the end of a victorious "war for humanity," a soldier dis-

covers that he has not only "lost faith in his own life. He had lost it in the whole future of humankind." The problem occurs in a different way to an Italian American soldier who visits, for the first time, his family in Italy, and to an ardent English Zionist on a trip to Palestine.

The stories are told in a spirit of intelligent discussion. Perplexity is the dominant tone. The problem is frankly stated, the elements of it displayed, and some solution is worried out. The author has an excellent sense of place for his locales in Italy, Palestine and North Africa. But he tells us too literally what he's about: the "problem" is too intellectual, and the characters have the story too well in hand, like a competent committee. We are attentive, but seldom intrigued. JOHN FARRELLY

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

Explosion, by Dorothy Cameron Disney (Random; \$2.50). Miss Elizabeth Mitchell, an admirable, sharp-eyed, elderly spinster, is devoted to the Greers, her next-door Washington neighbors. When, on a hot July afternoon, the Greers' house is suddenly blown to bits, Miss Mitchell finds herself thoroughly embroiled in the investigation that unearths a highly complicated—and nasty—state of affairs. Chatty as all get-out, but a skillful puzzler.

Drink the Green Water, by Hugh Austin (Scribner; \$2.50), precipitates Wm. Sultan, only member extant of the famous law firm of Sultan, Sultan & Sultan, smack into the end results of murder that happened in the 1890's. His beauteous secretary, file clerk and receptionist provide some hearty laughs while goosing their stuffy young master toward a solution.

Murder Miscellany. — Make My Bed Soon, by John Stephen Strange (Crime Club; \$2), is a well written and absorbing account of a series of baffling murders in Pennsylvania's hitherto peaceful Bucks County. *No Tears for the Dead*, by Rae Foley (Dodd, Mead; \$2.50), a promising first novel of family feuds and sudden death, is marred by an unlikely solution. E. H.

REPORT OF PRESIDENT'S CIVIL

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MOVIES

The New Realism

IN A RECENT issue of the New York Times Drama section, Bosley Crowther, observing the rise of the "documentary style" in this season's pictures, regrets that it is being used almost entirely to tell crime stories. "Why," he asks, "don't we have more normal pictures—more happy pictures—in which the locales and settings are as real as the city streets, the courts, the penitentiaries and the crime-detection laboratories in these hard-boiled films?"

The answer, I think, can be found by making a distinction between artistic growth and technical advance. Film documentation, which developed from the propaganda needs of the recent war, is a camera technique that strives for verisimilitude rather than reality. What it conveys may be completely false, and when you believe it you do so, not through any intellectual persuasion, but from the ancient fallacy that you cannot deny the evidence of your own eyes.

Fresh air. Applied to entertainment films, however, the style works an immediate benefit. It dictates a more straightforward use of the camera; it urges the director to discover the photographic possibilities of actual places, and these turn out to be more satisfactory backgrounds than the pasteboard elaborations of the studios. The move to quit the sound stage and step out into the street, in turn, demands a simpler and at the same time more subtly authenticated performance from the actors. The broad, eye-catching tricks of lazy characterization won't get by in the sunshine.

What the documentary approach is accomplishing, in short, is to return the movies to the days when the only tool the picture makers had was a box set on a tripod; before there was a gadget to compensate for every shortcoming of craftsmanship. In this style

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the machine can do much less, and the people must of necessity do much more.

All this is to the good, but it is good still only on the technical level. If the new honesty of documentation is to make any permanent claim on our applause it must be accompanied by a parallel importance of dramatic material. But this is a bad year to ask our producers for serious themes; and in any year it is intellectually and emotionally more difficult to create drama than melodrama.

A crime story is calculated to offend none of the self-appointed guardians of screen purity so long as certain simple rules are observed; and a crime story, which assays good and evil by a legal code, obviates the much more difficult task of dealing with these two basic ingredients of fiction in moral terms. Crime, for most of us, is a specialized and isolated aspect of human experience; at the same time it offers a quantity of picturesque detail that the documentary camera can linger upon. It is relatively safe and relatively easy, thus, to illuminate it with complete factuality.

Cases in point. The two most recent crime documentaries—"Call Northside 777" and "The Naked City"—well illustrate the predicament. Each picture, one in Chicago, the other in New York, uses its city with taste and photographic excitement. They have a visual freshness that compels your attention and a circumstantial frankness that compels your belief. And the revitalized camera work is reflected in the performances. James Stewart has never seemed as good as he does in "Call Northside 777," and though Barry Fitzgerald reaches no new heights in "The Naked City," he dances through the script with a pugnacious vitality that is at least comparable to his great stage appearances with the Abbey Theatre.

Both films are fun to see, and they carry the new technique about as far as it can be taken. But they cannot stand any closer analysis, for their dramatic content is old and safe and polished featureless by long contact

with our minds. If any real use is to be made of the new style, the scripts will now have to grow up to the cameras.

Evil to order. The French "Le Corbeau" (The Raven) arrives here with a curiosity value unique among imports. This is the picture that was made in France during the occupation with at least the blessings, and in all likelihood the encouragement, of the Germans. It was released in Germany during the war, when it was used to substantiate the claim that the French are a decadent people. Genêt in the *New Yorker* sadly called it one of the half-dozen greatest French pictures ever made. The ban placed on it in France after the Liberation has only recently been lifted.

"Le Corbeau" is a striking evocation of remorseless pessimism, but it doesn't seem to merit Genêt's reluctant praise. Anyone at all familiar with the French cinema should be able to work up a list of a dozen or more films for higher acclaim.

An account of how a pathological writer of poison-pen notes uncovers the rottenness all-pervasive in a French provincial town, the picture is so sweeping in its depiction of depravity that it sets up no counterfoil of decency to produce a dramatic impact. Furthermore, despite some beautifully thought-out characterizations, I felt a strain in the acting, as though the cast were pushing against a current, and there were details of plot construction that seemed to me foreign to the French love of consistency and logic. I objected, for example, to the quite illegitimate focusing of suspicion on a young girl of the community. Little incidents, seen only by the audience, point unmistakably to her guilt, and the final exposé, therefore, becomes fraudulent.

The film looks to me like what you would expect of a group of talented people whose treacherous designs were tripped up by their artistic instincts, but I can't be sure how much I have been influenced by knowing that the Germans were working somewhere behind the scenes.

ROBERT HATCH

THEATER: The Hilarious War

ALTHOUGH IT is improbable that the last war will go down in history as the most amusing event of the century, Joshua Logan and Thomas Heggen, authors of "Mister Roberts," have certainly used it as a basis for one of the funniest plays ever seen on the American stage. Taking the frail and pleasant little string of stories by Heggen as a starting point, they have shaped the material with a canny professionalism that approaches magic, into a roaring, full-fleshed play which leaves the audience limp, exhausted with laughter and profoundly satisfied.

After the first five minutes of the performance, a wonderful glow of anticipation settles on the spectator—a glow that comes from the realization that for this one night at least, the people responsible for your entertainment can do no wrong. There is the intoxicating feeling that everybody connected with "Mister Roberts" is at the very peak of his creative tide. If one person can be singled out for praise, it must be Joshua Logan, who, aside from aiding in the writing, directed the work with shrewdness, vitality and humor. He has obtained shining performances from veteran actors who are better in this than they ever have been, and he has made a host of youthful newcomers play as though they had been on the stage steadily since 1900.

The scenes, whirling through Jo Mielziner's ingenious and authentic representation of the Navy Cargo Ship, AK 601, are loud, lowdown, slapstick, wistful, bitter, sentimental—it is all one to Logan. He handles each of them with the same sense of justice to its material, with boundless variety, with a strict observance of the proper limits of the character, and with a seemingly inexhaustible gusto.

Point of focus. Henry Fonda as Mister Roberts proves how bitterly the theater has suffered by losing its best actors to the films. He has a most difficult assignment: quiet in the midst

of an almost continual riot, serious in a thunderstorm of comedy. He has to center and concentrate the attention of the audience upon himself or have the play lose itself in a series of disconnected gags. He does it by the use of a technique that is difficult to describe. He merely is absolutely real, and by that truthfulness he makes a simple grin, a weary lift of the shoulder, the flat and honest reading of an ordinary line, events of great dramatic importance upon the crowded and uproarious stage.

As the bed-loving Ensign Pulver, David Wayne, as nimble and artful an actor as we have around, paints a picture of a beautifully artless, naïve, hero-worshiping boy that is wildly funny and, at the end—when it has to be—gently touching.

William Harrigan, the absurd and monstrous captain of the ship, the enemy of every man aboard, the foe of all brotherhood and love, conducts his cranky feud with the crew with rasping integrity, his narrow, brooding virulence a perfect foil for the chaotic humors of the young men under his command.

Robert Keith, soaked in fruit juice and medicinal alcohol, gives his best performance to date. He is the ship's doctor—cynical, lounging, the invincible, irreverent civilian caught impermanently in the backwash of a war. A delicious affront to Annapolis and the American Medical Association, he adds the exact, necessary touch of shore-based acid to the seething dish.

The enlisted men of the crew make a mass effect upon the spectator. Individually, perhaps, they are slighted, but the total impression is one of vitality and comic reality. You would not know any one of them if you met him at a bar, but you feel perfectly certain that as a group they could sail any vessel (cargo) anywhere and that the Navy would approve. They chip paint, stare through binoculars at a nurses' shower room, and wear

"A work so extraordinary in its penetration,

so philosophical in its approach and so poetic in its execution that no review can even hope to do more than suggest its remarkable qualities and homely merits. Crankshaw has not written just another book on Russia. . . .

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—HARRISON E. SALISBURY,
N. Y. Times

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their dungarees and dress whites as though they were all in the middle of their third hitch.

If there is a fault with "Mister Roberts," it is one that it is not quite fair to bring up. The play is broader than it is deep, but the authors were not trying to be deep. It avoids tragedy firmly, even though (curious departure in a comedy) the hero dies in the end.

A war does not avoid tragedy, and a definitive play about war, even about such ludicrous rear areas as "Mister Roberts" covers, will somehow convey that fact. In a way, this criticism is a tribute, too. "Mister Roberts" is so good that it leads you to speculate, gently, on the breathless possibility of what it would have been like if it had been perfect.

IRWIN SHAW

RADIO: Failure of Nerve

THE MUTUAL NETWORK has struck a magnificent blow for civil rights and freedom from fear. In the process of winding up for this-hefty-pitch, Mutual struck down one of the fundamental rights—freedom from censorship. This seems contradictory and it is—I've contended for a long time that the broadcasting industry is schizophrenic.

To convince yourself that this column is not hearing things, listen to Mutual's Tuesday-night (10-10:30) program, "To Secure These Rights," which still has a couple of weeks to run. If the premiere of this show sets the standard, as seems probable, you will hear a sensitive and hard-hitting reading of significant chunks from "To Secure These Rights," the report of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights. But the net result of the manner in which Mutual prepared this series was to violate a fundamental freedom while preaching the sanctity of freedom.

On second thought. As noted here several times, "To Secure These Rights" was to be Mutual's big venture in the dramatic documentary form of radio. Mitchell Grayson was to produce and direct the show, Arnold Perl was to write it, and John Gart was to handle the music. Everybody congratulated Mutual for bringing forward this top trio and for choosing the civil-rights report as the vehicle. Mutual, at last, had come close to the bubbling waters of real radio, and was getting its feet wet. Only, in the end, Mutual man-

aged to put those wet feet right into its own mouth.

After Perl had written the opening show, had rewritten it twice, and had whittled down one point after another, Mutual decided not to use his version. Perl's show was "magnificent"—according to Mutual's president and general counsel, seconded by the chairman of Truman's committee, backed up by the unanimous opinion of all official hands in the project. But, four days before air time—after cast had been booked, studio assigned and rehearsal time set—Mutual decided that the best way to do the program was through reading, rather than by dramatization. Grayson and Gart remained; Perl was let go.

Pressure. I saw at least one of the poison-pen letters written about Perl, and read at least one of the vicious articles warning Mutual against producing a Perl show. But I must of course accept Mutual's denial that any such pressures were responsible for the sudden decision that reading is superior to dramatization. I also saw two of Perl's drafts. I could have seen an official copy of the third version, accepted as "final" by Mutual—but I refused to go into the black market for it, and Mutual may have had some rights in themselves refusing to let me see it. Instead, they asked me to listen to the reading. I did—and recommend it without reservations. Nevertheless, the question of censorship has still not been answered.

One of the most dangerous provi-

sions in the contemplated "Code of Ethics" laid before the National Association of Broadcasters last September forbade dramatization of "controversial" issues. The chairman of the committee that drew that code was Robert D. Swezey, Mutual's vice-president and general manager. Although the code has not yet been adopted, Swezey's network has already shown what the clause could do. For one thing, it could decide that lynching is controversial. This is the only explanation of Mutual's action that makes any sense at all. And it does not produce a feeling of confidence in the kind of security preached by the actors reading lines so beautifully on Mutual's microphones.

Arnold Perl has been censored in the name of a network's freedom to choose its format—if belatedly. The fact that his script made lynching nauseating is discounted. The fact that he was forced to delete the names of lynch towns like Minden, Louisiana, and Greenville, South Carolina, is put down as merely incidental. We must think it simply funny that the music cue opening the program was changed from Perl's original, "a deeply American theme, blending America with a Negro spiritual," to just "a deeply American theme." And maybe this scene, cut out of an early version of the script, should also be taken as a grand joke:

Boy (at scene of lynching): Pa, Pa! Hold me up a little higher. I can almost see his face. Pa, Pa! (Peak) Lookit, lookit—look what they're doing to him now!

MUSIC: States the killing. Then descends and goes out softly.

NARRATOR (very quietly): This happened in America—in 1947. . . .

Do listen to Mutual's reading of the civil-rights report. And next time you hear broadcasters talk about freedom of expression on radio (I expect to hear a lot of it this week in Washington, where the industry is asking for permission to editorialize), remember that Perl's lines about what happened in 1947 did not get on the Mutual air in 1948. SAUL CARSON

BANDWAGON

A Room with a View

In Panama [Representative J. Parnell] Thomas said he had gleaned "a clear mental picture of un-American activities in the Canal Zone" in an investigation conducted from a hospital bed. — *From the Virginia-Pilot.*

Let the Chips Fall . . .

We are trying to protect Ann Arbor and surrounding communities from the "Junker" type of used cars by selling all cars of that type to out-of-town dealers. — *From the Ann Arbor News.*

Word to the Wise

Thoughtful Negroes in the South are aware of the untimeliness, so far as they are affected by the four-pointed Truman civil-rights program, of seeking to drive it through Congress at this time. As Senator Russell and other Southern Democrats in Congress have pointed out, Negroes in the South would be the principal sufferers if laws repugnant to Southern white people were to be enacted at this time. — *From the Albany (Georgia) Herald.*

Patriots All

President Truman was urged Thursday to seek funds to repay motion-picture and other industries for losses suffered in depicting the American way of life abroad in the fight against communism. — *From the Detroit Free Press.*

Matter of Taste

To top off the repast [the \$100-a-plate Jefferson Day dinner] the dessert was bombe atomic, sauce melba and a demitasse. — *From the New York Times.*

Murder Will Out

Commander O'Neill, who strongly urged universal military training, said the Legion is embarked on a program to fight Communism negatively and Americanism positively. — *From the Newport Daily News.*

Our readers are invited to contribute; \$2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clippings. — *The Editors*

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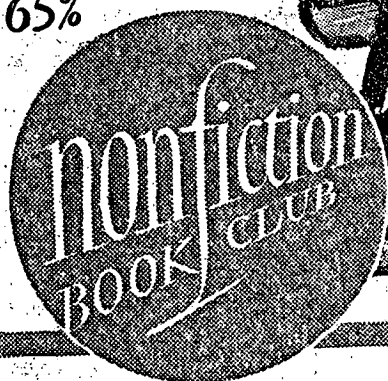
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March 24, 1948

RECORDED

62-11788-93

INDEXED

Mrs. Maurice Moore, Jr.
Sewanee, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Moore:

Your letter dated March 20, 1948, with enclosure, has been received. I want to express my appreciation to you for having made this available to me. The thought occurred you might enjoy reading the enclosed material.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

[Signature]
Enclosure

Our Reprint of Menace of Communism

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228303

VWP:mb *[initials]*

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Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Egan _____
Mr. Gurnea _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Pennington _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Gandy _____

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

62 APR 5 1948

G.A.R.-6

APR 24

✓

[Signature]

Sewanee, Tennessee
March 20, 1948

Mr. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

You may be interested in the enclosed
letter just mailed to the Washington POST.

Yours truly,

E. M. R. Moore

E.M.R. Moore

P.S. I wonder if the FBI needs to waste their time on
Henry Wallace, he seems to be doing his best to make
himself a "has been", or shall we say to "hang himself".

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ENCL

RECORDED
INDEXED

162-71788-93
F B I
19 MAR 29 1948

Sewanee, Tennessee
March 20, 1948

Editor,
Washington POST:

The FBI could busy (and would undoubtedly enjoy) themselves in Mr. Henry Wallace's office. And Mr. Wallace has provided grounds for them to move in.

Note the following:

"Wallace Charges U.S. Czech Envoy

Forced Reds to make Crisis, coup" (Headline, Chattanooga TIMES, March 16) and the article following it:

".....When the TIMES reporter asked Wallace about the "rightist coup" ... and Wallace assured him that his foreign desk undoubtedly knew about it.. just as reporters were attempting to press Wallace on this point to obtain some documentation, and aide slipped up a note to Wallace, contents unknown, and the former vice president rose, stated that he had to catch a train and would be leaving."

If Mr. Wallace new of a rightis coup, has he been playing ball with the Intelligence Service of the U.S. government or that of another government?

E.H.P. Moore

Dear Sir:

Should you wish to print this, omit the part marked in pencil if you see fit.

Yours truly,

E.H.P.

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DATE 5/12/83 BY SP1GSKC
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62-71788-93
ENCLOSURE

April 5, 1948

RECORDED

62-71788-94

Mr. Walter C. Stross
Tower Club
Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio

EX-47

Dear Mr. Stross:

Your letter dated March 25, 1948, has been received. I regret that I cannot be of service in connection with your request for information which may be in the files of this Bureau, as, in accordance with a long-standing policy, our files are confidential and available for official use only. I am sure you will understand the reason for this rule and that no inference will be drawn that we do or do not have information in our files because of my inability to be of assistance. Your enclosures are being returned at this time.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

Republican Club Ballot

Letter addressed to correspondent from Calvin Hall

G.H.R. 6

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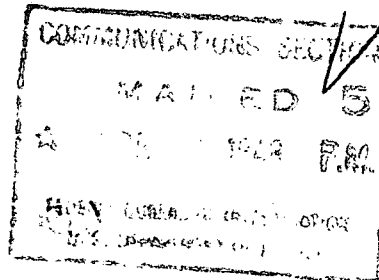
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36

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OHIO STATE

2 Tower Club
Stadium Dormitories
March 25, 1948

J. E. Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

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DATE 5/12/83 BY SP1GSK/EC
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Dear Sir:

Will you please investigate and advise me what truth there is in the statement made by President Truman that Henry Wallace was a Communist.

My reason for seeking the above advice is due to the fact that I had pledged a \$100.00 donation to the Henry Wallace Campaign when Mr. Wallace gave a speech in Columbus on February 1, 1948. At that time it was my firm belief that Henry Wallace was merely following the footsteps of F. D. Roosevelt whom I greatly admired. Now it is being claimed, perhaps only for political slander, that Wallace is far more left of center than Roosevelt ever was and that he is today an agent of the Communist Party. If such can be proven true, then I certainly do not intend to fulfill my pledge because my pledge was made on the grounds that Wallace was a New Dealer and not a Communist.

For your information I am purposely interested in encouraging the Wallace-for-President campaign as a means of liberalizing the two major political parties. Being a member of the Hamilton County Republican Club interested in Harold Stassen rather than Robert Taft, it is my contention that the threat of a strong Henry Wallace campaign is the best insurance that an old reactionary like Bob Taft will not be nominated at the Philadelphia convention. My disliking of Bob Taft has resulted from his false support of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Housing Bill, resulting in the veterans such as myself finding prices of real estate being maintained at such a high level that we are disfranchised from receiving any benefit of the G.I. Bill of Rights in regards to home ownership.

RECORDED & INDEXED

Copy of this letter is being sent to the Cleveland, Ohio, office of the Wallace-For-President Committee so that any misunderstanding of my partial support of Henry Wallace can be immediately corrected. As long as such outstanding statesmen as Arthur Vandenburg and Harold Stassen stand a chance of being nominated at the Philadelphia Convention there is no reason for me to leave the Republican Party whose principles of government I have always believed in. Awaiting your reply, I am

Sincerely yours,

WALTER C. STROSS

File

Walter C. Stross

4

ack
4-5-48
W.C.
under note
C Files
1972

62-71788-95

April 28, 1948

RECORDED - 123

EX-137

7004

Mr. C. H. Bartholomae
Midston House
22 East 38th Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Bartholomae:

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated April 14, 1948, and to express my appreciation for your communicating with me. Your comments have been carefully noted and you may be assured that they are being maintained in this Bureau as a matter of record.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/19/83 BY 001058

22830

JLS:jmm

No identifiable record could be located on correspondent. He furnished information alleging that Henry Wallace is a traitor.

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Egan _____
Mr. Gurnea _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Pennington _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Gandy _____

267

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 12
★ APR 29 1948 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Est m

ms

2588
JB 7/28
8/8

APR 28 4 03 PM '48
RECEIVED
READING ROOM



22 EAST 38th STREET - NEW YORK 16

4-17-48

Wt

decision in your office. Reminter - Bogata!

My dear Mr. Hoover:

If I am in error in reporting a fellow citizen as a traitor then my error, I feel, is probably because of a technicality, or because the Federal law is in need of modernization.

That being understood, I report one ^{HENRY A. WALLACE} ~~HENRY AGARD WALLACE~~ 1-8 Henry Agard Wallace, address unknown,

last seen (last week) in the dining room of the above named hotel, seen also recently by a friend about 9 PM in the dining room of the Hotel Pierre, this city, dining with a member of the Soviet Staff quartered in this city. Present occupation, seeking public office. Evidence in my possession at your disposal.

SE 9 62-71788-95
INDEXED 31 APR 16 1948

Awaiting your instructions, I am

Sincerely,
Edgar Hoover

Over and over
4-27-48
Edgar Hoover
Washington.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/17/83 BY SP10/STP/STP

22 F303
H. BARTHOLOMAE
US Army 1911-19
Wounded in last war.